

THE MATERIAL LEAVIS:
CRITICISM AND THE MARKETPLACE

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ABSTRACT

As well as being the most outspoken opponent of the twentieth-century British literary market, F.R. Leavis was, contradictorily, one of its best-selling literary critics. This thesis traces the development of Leavis's complex symbolic and material relationship with the literary market. By locating this relationship within its historical conditions of possibility (which include social and institutional factors, among others), this thesis demonstrates how these factors influenced the strategies that Leavis employed in order to 'make a name for himself' and the eventual exchange of this reputation for economic profit.

Chapter One contextualises the positive assessment of the literary market made by Leavis's Ph.D. thesis—and the subsequent reversal of this outlook—within the class structured subject of English Studies. Chapter Two situates Leavis's disavowal of the literary market within the new field of academic literary criticism and focuses on the ways in which Leavis integrated the structures of British publishing into his critical position in order to generate an audience. Chapters Three, Four, and Five illustrate how the dissemination, reception, practices, and critical positions of *Scrutiny*—the primary vehicle by which Leavis's reputation was secured—were influenced by the field of British literary magazines; in Chapter Three, particular attention is paid to the uses of the Leavisite cultural argument within schools. Chapter Six examines how the publication of Leavis's *Scrutiny* essays in formats that encouraged wider consumption aided both the spread of Leavisism within the universities and the transformation of his reputation into financial gain. Chapter Seven considers the appropriation of Leavis's reputation by biographical, bibliographical, and literary critical approaches.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been present in this or any different form to this or any other university for the approval of any degree.

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

I grant the University of Edinburgh the right to publish the abstract or list of works, and authorise its publication for any scholarly purpose with proper acknowledgement of authorship.

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INTRODUCTION

An Inconvenient Figure

In approaching Leavis, the eye is always drawn to the same few details: certain topics, passages and events which compose a convenient figure. But there are other threads in the tapestry which are rarely noticed and which have faded almost to the point of invisibility.

—Ian MacKillop and Richard Storer, *F.R. Leavis: Essays and Documents*, p. 1.

The Great Tradition . . . a fat book justifying a good fat price.

—F.R. Leavis to Ian Parsons, circa 1950, University of Reading Library.

The influence that F.R. Leavis exerted on twentieth century British literary criticism was remarkable. Even today, over a quarter of a century after death in 1978, the name Leavis still incites argument as a recent exchange in the *TLS* illustrated. In an article published in 2003, Paul Binding wrote a synoptic ‘Revaluation’ of Leavis’s career that stressed his ‘absolutely independent, individual and lonely virtue.’ Binding argued that this characteristic was critical to the formulation of ideas that ‘few have shown themselves to support.’¹ Among the correspondence provoked by Binding’s article was a letter corroborating his account, and two letters correcting it. One correspondent, W.S. Milne, was careful to point out that even today Leavis has his sympathisers, particularly the poet Geoffrey Hill who manifests characteristically ‘Leavisite commitments,’ which include a preference for an agrarian community, a high regard for the authors Leavis promoted, a belief in tradition, and a preference for close reading.²

At the root of the disagreement was a disparity between two different Leavises: on the one hand, Binding promoted an image that was very much in line with the embattled image that Leavis himself advanced and, on the other, Milne recognised that the historical occurrence of Leavis did not necessarily correspond to such representations. As a discussion about how Leavis was to be remembered, the *TLS* exchange confirms that debate regarding Leavis has moved beyond the questions regarding the accuracy or failure of his criticism, which characterised the debate for more than half a century. This state of affairs is due in part to the success of Terry Eagleton's *Literary Theory* (1983) and Chris Baldick's *The Social Mission of English Criticism* (1987). Both are 'rise of English' histories that locate Leavis within the English critical tradition. Though cementing Leavis's reputation, their historicisation is more of a recapitulation of Leavis's own self-invention than an actuality. For both Eagleton and Baldick, Leavis is a figure of lonely, dogmatic resistance to Marxism and 'mass civilisation,' a portrait that, as Binding's variation serves to demonstrate, still holds some sway twenty years on.

While I would argue that such renditions are in a conceptual rut, some academics are trying to get out of it. Most notable among these are Ian MacKillop, Richard Storer, and Stefan Collini. By drawing on a wide range of material including letters and interviews, MacKillop's excellent biography, *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism* (1995), has made Leavis a more complex figure. MacKillop challenges the notion of Leavis as a draconian pedant, situates his criticism within a biographical framework, and demonstrates the importance of Q.D.L.'s collaboration, the couple's residence at Cambridge, and Leavis's relationship with his students. Likewise, MacKillop and

Storer's *F.R. Leavis: Essays and Documents* (1995) has given a new insight to the historical figure of Leavis by reproducing ephemera such as student lecture notes as well as a number of hitherto marginal approaches to Leavis. These include a contribution by Gary Day, which formulates a relationship between Leavis's criticism and post-structural approaches. The use of material that has in the past been relegated to the periphery to inform Leavis's career is a worthwhile approach, but MacKillop and Storer fall short of a new interrogation. Both find cohesion where there is in fact contradiction: in MacKillop's case, by misrepresenting Leavis's early views of the literary market and in Storer's case, by failing to recognise Leavis's sometimes negative influence on his students. Collini's article 'The Critic as Journalist: Leavis after *Scrutiny*' (1998) provides by far the most penetrating analysis of Leavis in the past decade, perhaps even the past two decades. The first academic to investigate thoroughly the schism between Leavisite prescriptions and their dissemination, Collini looks at the contradiction between Leavis's attacks on 'literary journalism,' and his participation within the genre. As Collini asks, 'If one's charges about the shallowness and corruption of contemporary literary journalism are well-grounded, will that journalism provide a receptive vehicle for one's attacks, and if it does so on any kind of regular basis, should that be seen as calling the accuracy of the hostile picture into doubt?'³

Collini's insight should be extended to include Leavis's participation within a literary market that he so unequivocally denounced. Even his severest detractors would agree that he was one of the most widely read critics of his generation. However, the transition from editing a small critical journal with a diminutive print run to the production of best-selling books of literary criticism has been overlooked in the

profusion of studies of Leavis's *oeuvre*. One reason for this oversight is because many of these studies have taken for granted the conditions of possibility—critical, social, institutional, and economic—in which his texts and his reputation were produced and disseminated. A close investigation of Leavis's symbolic and material relationship with the literary market raises a number of pertinent questions, not least why a critic so famously opposed to the market was so adept at manoeuvring within it.

By inventing himself as a distinct 'other' to the literary market—or, to borrow Leavis's description of *Scrutiny*, 'outlaw'—Leavis was able to convince several generations of readers that he was not actually participating in its performance. The importance of this disavowal to Leavis's career is such that it is difficult to legitimately consider him without it, as many of the above studies have rightly realised. However, by casting Leavis as an uncompromising opponent of cultural commodification, they merely reiterate Leavis's representation of himself and transform a complex interaction into a simplistic duality. From a Ph.D. student writing of the benefits of 'supply and demand' for authorship, to a minority leader attempting to sanitise cultural production, to a retired academic economically reliant on the sales of his books, the market was—throughout Leavis's career—a facilitator, an antagonist, and aid. Leavis's symbolic opposition was such a sweeping success that even his critics, like Eagleton, who should be the most sensitive to the economic interests Leavis's critical doctrine, have overlooked the material dimension of Leavis's disavowal. Indeed, a perceived resistance to economic considerations was one of Leavis's chief selling points, and he could publish a collection of essays with a print run of 15,000 that played on his anti-popular status without raising an eyebrow.⁴

In studies such as Ian Willison, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik's *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (1996), Lawrence Rainey's *Institutions of Modernism* (1998), Paul Delany's 'Who Paid for Modernism' (1999), and Peter McDonald's *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice* (1997), economic disavowal is seen to play a central role in literary production. Through the application of a developing set of concerns often identified as 'book history' (which places importance on archival evidence; relationships between authors, publishers, and readers; and the economics of literary production, among other issues), these studies have helped articulate the ways in which writers like Conrad, Joyce, Eliot, and Pound ultimately profited from the public perception of their opposition to the marketplace. McDonald in particular has gone to lengths to map this course according to Pierre Bourdieu's theorisation of the 'field of cultural production.'

According to Randal Johnson, Bourdieu's concept of 'field' is 'a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force Its structure, at any given moment, is determined by the relations between the positions agents occupy in the field.'⁵ As a grouping of interrelated positions, 'field' is useful in describing the dynamics that exist between political parties, between corporations, between universities, and even between poets and between critics, to name only a few groups. Furthermore, while fields are separate, they are also interrelated: the field of cultural production is comprised of literary and artistic fields, which can themselves be even further divided. Even thoroughly distinct fields can have an impact on each other as is the case with the educational field and the field of cultural production.

Agents within each field compete for a specific capital that is not necessarily economic in nature. In the educational field, for example, success is to a large part measured by the number of degrees one holds. The term 'agent' deserves some explanation. 'Agent' is a broad term describing those who respond strategically to the conditions of the field, those who 'play the game'. In the legal field, for example, it would describe solicitors and judges. While 'agents' are not entirely self-determined subjects, neither are they mechanistic 'bearers' of structures. In an attempt to move beyond this dichotomy, Bourdieu developed the concept of 'habitus', the set of social structures that influence a producer's actions, most importantly, their arrival at a certain field. As Johnson explains: 'to enter a field (the philosophical field, the scientific field, etc.), to play the game, one must possess the habitus which predisposes one to enter that field, that game, and not another.'⁶ Upon arriving at a particular field, agency is further circumscribed by the rules of each field and the possible positions that are available for occupation.

Bourdieu divides the field of literary production into two major sub-fields—'large-scale production' and 'restricted production'—which are organised according to opposing principles. Large-scale producers compete for the economic capital that is generated by the successful pursuit of a wide audience, while restricted producers measure their success in the amount of symbolic capital—or prestige—that they accumulate.⁷ In the early stages of a restricted producer's career, the accumulation of symbolic capital is based on the disavowal of economic interest in favour of less fungible endeavours; in Leavis's case, it was based on the promotion of literary values and the denigration of large-scale practices. Eventually, the reputation one gains from

such efforts can be transformed into financial profit. According to Bourdieu, such tactics function as

practical *negations*, [which] can only work by pretending not to be doing what they are doing. Defying ordinary logic they lend themselves to two opposed readings, both equally false, which each undo their essential duality and duplicity by reducing them either to the disavowal or to what is disavowed—to disinterestedness or self-interest.⁸

In other words, it is inaccurate to exclusively consider disavowal as either an outright resistance or an economic pursuit. Disavowal ultimately incorporates both actions:

In this economic universe, whose very functioning is defined by a ‘refusal’ of the ‘commercial’ which is in fact a collective disavowal of commercial interests and profits, the most ‘anti-economic’ and most visibly ‘disinterested’ behaviours, which in an economic universe would be those most ruthlessly condemned, contain a form of economic rationality (even in the restricted sense) and in no way exclude their authors from even the ‘economic’ profits awaiting those who conform to the law of this universe.⁹

Symbolic capital, therefore, is

economic . . . capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate, a “credit” which under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees “economic” profits.’ Producers and vendors of cultural goods who “go commercial” condemn themselves . . . because they deprive themselves of the opportunities open to those who can *recognize* the specific demands of this universe and who, by concealing from

themselves and other the interests at stake in their practice, obtain the means of deriving profits from disinterestedness For the author, the critic, the art dealer, the publisher or the theatre manager, the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognised name.¹⁰

‘Making a name for oneself’ should not be taken to imply that generation of reputation is entirely up to the individual; to the contrary, it implies an advantageous response to the conditions of the field in which one’s reputation is formed. In the literary field, it is neither the publisher, the author’s positioning, or even the audience which makes one’s reputation possible, but rather their combination.

By observing concerns related to book history, this thesis demonstrates how Leavis’s accumulation and economic transformation of symbolic capital was the result of several factors, which included the tactical occupation of critical positions, strategic publication within restricted production, the successful pursuit of an audience within education, that readership’s use of his criticism, and his (and his publishers’) eventual willingness to follow market priorities. In examining Leavis’s Ph.D. thesis, which had a positive view of the literary marketplace, and his subsequent theoretical reversal, Chapter One considers how Leavis’s arrival at the sub-field of restricted production was influenced by his social location within the class-structured subject of English Studies. As Chapter Two demonstrates, the particular form of Leavis’s symbolic opposition to the large-scale market was a result of strategic positioning in the newly developing sub-field of academic literary criticism and his related attempt to secure a reputation by generating an audience for his critical stances. Chapters Three, Four, and Five frame the

main vehicle for Leavis's accumulation of symbolic capital, *Scrutiny*, as a periodical in dialogue with a wider sub-field of literary magazines, and show how the practices, positions, and use by an audience of educators, which helped secure Leavis's reputation, were a result of the journal's successful negotiation of that sub-field. Chapter Six reflects on Leavis's publishing relationships with Chatto and Windus and Cambridge University Press, his financial circumstances, the widespread reception (and use) of his reputation at national and international universities, and his periodic insistence on his material innocence. By doing so, Chapter Six documents how Leavis's shift from a minority leader to a figurehead of a popular movement made it possible to convert *Scrutiny*'s symbolic capital into cash when mined for chapters of books and when reprinted in its entirety in 1963. Chapter Seven considers the appropriation of Leavis's reputation following his death, including its construction in biographies, bibliographies, and academic literary criticism.

CHAPTER ONE

The Emergence of a Subject

According to Bourdieu, a 'habitus' is an acquired complex of 'structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends.'¹ Randal Johnson elaborates:

The habitus is sometimes defined as a 'feel for the game', a 'practical sense' (*sens pratique*) that inclines agents to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated and that is not simply a question of conscious obedience to rules. The habitus is a result of a long process of inculcation, beginning in early childhood, which becomes a 'second sense' or a second nature. According to Bourdieu's definition, the dispositions represented by the habitus . . . are 'structured structures' in that they inevitably incorporate the objective conditions of their inculcation . . . the dispositions of the habitus are 'structuring structures' through their ability to generate practices adjusted to specific situations.²

The concept of habitus emphasises the social generation of a producer's tendencies.

Class is one of the most important socially 'structured structures' of a producer's habitus

and Bourdieu argues that it determines one's arrival at either the sub-field of restricted production or large scale production:

Those who manage to maintain themselves in the most adventurous positions long enough to maintain to obtain the symbolic profits which may be provided there are recruited essentially from among the most affluent, who also have the advantage of not being obliged to devote themselves to secondary jobs for subsistence. This contrasts with so many poets coming from the *petite-bourgeoisie* who have been forced to abandon poetry sooner or later for the sake of literary activities which are better remunerated . . . it is the people who are richest in economic capital, cultural capital and social capital who are the first to head for new positions.³

This may be the case for an avant-garde writer like Joseph Conrad who had an upper-class upbringing and, upon receipt of a small inheritance, finished his first novel to poor sales, but it does not strictly apply to many restricted production writers. T.S. Eliot, though upper class, found it necessary to undertake a variety of 'secondary jobs' in order to continue writing, while the class status of one of the most revolutionary avant-gardists, James Joyce, progressively declined throughout his upbringing.

Likewise, in a rigid application of the concept of *habitus* to Leavis's career, his social status as the son of a *petit-bourgeois* piano salesman would tend to indicate a predilection towards large-scale production, but this is manifestly not the case. However, the arrival of Leavis at restricted production was still related to his class status. The imprecision of Bourdieu's argument with regard to Leavis and others is most likely related to the translation of the dynamics of a French literary field into a British literary

field. Whereas in the French literary field, bourgeois producers might be inclined towards the large scale, in the British literary field, it was not uncommon for middle-class producers to pursue restricted pretensions.⁴

The educational progression of Leavis from a county to a grammar school, his engagement with a gentrified Cambridge, his promotion of a populist model of literary production, and his subsequent shift towards an aesthetic elitism, all indicate that class was a major formative influence in his early career. As this chapter will demonstrate, Leavis's arrival at the sub-field of restricted production was circumscribed by a habitus of middle-class aspiration interacting with the historical development of a relatively new subject, English Studies. Like Leavis's early career, the new subject's attempt to define 'Englishness' was also informed by class distinctions.

I. From the Fens to the University: A Mobile Habitus

Leavis's cultural ambitions were intimately related to his family history. His grandfather, Elihu Leavis, was a piano tuner in the Fen village of Denver approximately thirty miles outside of Cambridge. Visiting homes twice a year, the 'piano man' was associated with a symbolic gesture that had immediate social implications.⁵ Far more than a piece of furniture for the nineteenth-century British middle classes, the parlour piano symbolised prosperity, respectability, and cultural refinement—or for many piano owners, the aspiration for such things; to tune pianos was to cater to middle-class aesthetic advancement. Elihu's subsequent move to Cambridge in the 1880's with his son Harry furthered the family's social and cultural designs. If Leavis's grandfather was a more fortunate Jude Fawley, his father Harry was a successful Leonard Bast. Harry

began his working life as a clerk and then became a shop assistant, but eventually moved to London in order to learn the piano business. An embodiment of the symbol he sold, Harry set up his shop on the outskirts of Cambridge and progressively moved closer and closer to the University, until finally settling in premises across from Downing College. Known for his rationalism, Harry was an autodidact who used his spare time to improve his situation. Aside from going to London in order to hear Mark Twain perform a reading and subscribing to Ford Madox Hueffer's *English Review*, he was also a founding member of the New Chesterton Institute (which ran various arts societies such as a drama club), President of the New Chesterton Cricket Club, and a contributor to the Cambridge branch of the League of Nations.

Leavis followed his father's social progression when he transferred from the Cambridge and County School after being awarded a scholarship to the Perse Grammar School in 1911. Perse was known for its humanist education and had a reputation for teaching Classics. Its headmaster, W.H.D. Rouse, was an innovative teacher that gained notoriety for the Direct Method of teaching classical languages in which Latin and Greek were taught without the use of the English language; in the next decade, Leavis would come to benefit from Newbolt Report's reversal of this method. By moving from the County School to Perse, Leavis became the first of his family to be accepted into an upper-middle class educational institution. Upon receiving a scholarship to read history at Emmanuel College, Leavis effectively achieved his family's aspirations. Emmanuel suited his social situation: it was neither the oldest nor the youngest college, nor did it have the prestigious origins of Kings (founded by Henry VI) or Trinity (founded by

Henry VIII). One of Leavis's friends reflected on Emmanuel's aptness and called it 'a good college for a town boy.'⁶

Leavis began his university career in the autumn of 1914. It was, however, a false start. Two months earlier, war had been declared and, after only one year of studies, Leavis pre-empted conscription by becoming an orderly on an ambulance train run by the Society of Friends. While the decision reflected an objection to the war, it also reflected a social hesitation. It was considered a duty for many in the upper and middle classes to perform military service as officers; to resist military service in part reflected a discomfort with set class structures. While Leavis's Cambridge contemporary, E.M.W. Tillyard (who had been born into the upper middle class), served with the British Expeditionary Force, Leavis was neither an officer nor a common soldier. Work on the train was gruelling and psychologically intense, with patients dying more often than surviving. For Leavis, literature was a means of escape and, throughout the duration of the war, the only book he regularly carried was a World's Classics copy of Milton's English poems. It was similar situation for many on the train who used cultural improvement as a form of distraction. Fellow orderlies contributed to a thousand volume library, literary reading circles, debates, classes in Spanish, French and book-keeping, lectures on literary figures, and a train journal called *La Vie Sanitaire*. No doubt such activities contributed to Leavis's change from History to English Studies at the end of the war.

II. 'Englishness' and the Importance of Class

Leavis's career began at the end of a long process for English Studies to gain recognition throughout the British educational field. Although accepted at Scottish, Irish, and provincial universities, it was rejected at Oxbridge. If English Studies was taught at the upper-class English educational institutions, it would have reflected a class-wide consensus about the importance of the subject for a national identity. The converse was also true. On the cusp of broad recognition for over a century, English Studies was eventually accepted by the ancient Universities as the consequence of a struggle to institutionalise notions of 'Englishness' before and after the First World War. Early treatments of how this transition came about—*The Teaching of English in England* (The Newbolt Report, 1921), Stephen Potter's *The Muse in Chains* (1937), and, later, E.M.W. Tillyard's, *The Muse Unchained* (1958)—are at best inconclusive. However, to one degree or another, all agree that the development of English Studies in England was informed by class distinctions. As one nineteenth-century educator asserted, English was a 'poor man's classics': 'In schools whose pupils are not destined to proceed from there to a University, or to a life of studious leisure and opportunity, English should, I think, be made the prominent linguistic and literary study.'⁷ In *The Social Mission of English Criticism* (1983), Chris Baldick effectively brings out such elements by focusing on the 'ground up' developments in institutions like Working Men's Colleges and university extension courses in the 1900's.

Outside of England, English Studies began a century earlier when, in 1748, Adam Smith gave a series of lectures at the University of Edinburgh comparing English

and French authors. In the subsequent decade, the Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres was established at the University. Much later, in 1860, the University of Aberdeen established the Chair of Logic and Rhetoric, which was instituted in order to teach English Literature. The University of Glasgow established a Chair of English Language and Literature in 1861. In Ireland, with the commencement of the Queen's Colleges in Belfast, Cork, and Galway in 1845, three chairs of History and English Literature were also established. As Robert Crawford argues in *Devolving English Literature* (1992), the institutionalisation of English Studies outside England (particularly Scotland) was a pursuit of refinement that 'arose from the growing awareness of, and interest in, the gap between primitive or barbarous societies and "civil", highly developed ones'; in other words, this pursuit of 'Englishness' implied class-like hierarchies.

To invoke notions of 'Englishness' was thus in some measure to acknowledge a deficiency in one's own gentility. It is no wonder, then, that English Studies was avoided at an Oxbridge populated with a large number of upper-class students. Though a putative Chair of Poetry had been established at Oxford in 1708, lectures almost always covered classical poets and were delivered in Latin even up to Matthew Arnold's occupation of the Chair from 1857 to 1867. In 1840, it was the newer satellite institution, King's College London, that established the first professorship in England dedicated to delivering lectures on English Literature. This was followed by the Chair of History and English Literature in 1875 at Owen's College Manchester (later the University of Manchester), and a Chair of Literature and History at University College, Liverpool (later the University of Liverpool) in 1881.

The establishment of English Studies at London and the civic universities associated the subject with an important middle-class initiative. For hundreds of years, Cambridge and Oxford were the only universities in England, and were, according to Harold Perkin, 'finishing schools for leisured gentlemen.'⁸ As Perkin demonstrates in *The Rise of Professional Society* (1989), the emergence of universities and colleges outside Oxbridge was the result of a predominantly middle-class shift from apprenticeship to establishing institutions that could confer degrees that eventually legitimated a professional elite. Perkin argues that the universities played an important role in supplanting an economic model that favoured the upper-classes' possession of economic capital and property, with one favouring the 'human capital' of merit and trained expertise; attributes that, in principle, 'could be extended to everyone.'⁹

The ideal could be construed as egalitarian, but the reality was that the newer universities and colleges were, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, more of an expression of middle-class aspirations to an upper-class status instead of a force for equality. As R.D. Anderson argues in *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (1992), the newer universities initially emulated the Oxbridge example. This had significant implications for the way in which English was initially taught. The creation of the chairs hardly implied a pursuit of 'Englishness' via English Literature. Many occupants of these posts considered English Literature a frivolous subject and used their position to establish a philological approach to English language, or to promote the Classics, which was the preferred humanist subject at Oxbridge. By turning to philology, the chairs deferred an English nativism for a predominantly German analysis. As the Newbolt Report asserts, many of the lecturers in the English universities had

either been trained in Germany or were under the influence of German educational ideas and methods. In their study of Anglo-Saxon they divorced language from literature and history and devoted their attention almost exclusively to philology and phonetics. Hence they tended to alienate from the study of English all but [a] small body.¹⁰

Though there was a vibrant literary critical culture that encompassed both the dilettante ‘man of letters’ (such as George Saintsbury) and the socio-cultural architect (such as Matthew Arnold), it was disregarded by the Universities. According to Stephen Potter, at the end of the nineteenth century there was a marked lack of consensus in the Universities as to ‘what literature was . . . how, if it was anything, it was to be taught: they had no confidence, no unity.’¹¹ Nascent and hard to pin down as a subject, English Literature was, however, making inroads at Oxbridge by the late 1800’s. As an expression of a growing middle-class desire to see English Studies in an Oxbridge curriculum—and the competition brought about by the middle-class civics—the University Commission of 1877 recommended the establishment of an English Chair at Oxford. This was only successfully implemented in 1885 with the creation of the Merton Professorship of English Language and Literature. However, the lectures that were given focused primarily on linguistics, until 1904, when the language element was transferred to the Rawlinson Chair of Anglo-Saxon and the Merton Professorship became identified solely with English Literature.

Cambridge and the War

At Leavis’s university, developments took even longer. The Cambridge Senate established a supervisory Board for Modern and Medieval languages in 1878, along with

a Chair of Anglo-Saxon that was filled by the renowned philologist W.W. Skeat. The Board's report, submitted in the academic year of 1881-82, suggested that the Modern Language section should be composed of three parts—English, French and German—of which English was compulsory. Though the course instituted was entitled *Language and Literature*, it was clear that English was to be considered from a predominantly philological perspective that included 'grammar, etymology, and the English language' as mandatory subjects.¹² The French and German sections were under the control of two German scholars—Bruel and Brauholtz—both of whom promoted philology to the exclusion of more literary analysis; this preference was applied to English as well.

In 1911, the King Edward Professorship in English Literature was established on the condition that English was taught along literary and critical lines. The Professorship was first given to the classicist A.W. Verral and it looked as if the critical analysis of English literature would again be deferred, but Verral died a year later and the Professorship was subsequently filled by the patriotic Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Quiller-Couch's appointment signified a major concession to the men of letters culture, as well as a willingness to investigate 'Englishness' within an academic context. Quiller-Couch was primarily known for his monumental *Oxford Book of English Verse*, which featured no less than 350 poets. It was intended to bolster the national culture and so it reflected a literary connoisseurship that offered a fluid panorama of English poetry rather than a rigid canon. In 1912, Skeat also died and the progressive Anglo-Saxonist, H.M. Chadwick, was given the Chair. Even at this stage, English Studies at Cambridge, though emerging, had no dedicated examination (known as a Tripos) and was only an attendant subject.

The First World War served to deflate University resistance. When Leavis left Emmanuel, the only way to study English was under the Modern and Medieval languages Tripos. In an attempt to appeal to returning soldiers, English Literature was given its own Tripos. Aware that the returning soldiers would likely refuse a degree based on German analysis, both Quiller-Couch and Chadwick composed a syllabus for an English Tripos in which philology was not compulsory. Leavis's contemporary, Basil Willey, described the course as a Cinderella whose 'elder sisters thought very meanly of her. Many, indeed most, of the colleges had no Fellow and no entrance scholarships in English, and discouraged their undergraduates from taking it.'¹³ Given the egalitarianism that the Newbolt Report would associate with the subject in 1921, one can understand why the elite were wary. In the company of an elitist Classics, English was perceived by one don to be 'not only . . . useless but positively harmful to the university'.¹⁴ Another don criticised the subject on grounds that English was not a serious topic and was 'unworthy of the University.'¹⁵ If the decision had been left to prevailing academic opinion alone, the new Tripos would never have been established. But the returning soldiers forced a re-evaluation of such sentiments. Willey in particular was aware of their potential:

A hungry generation of young men and not so young, disillusioned, scarred and seared in mind and body, quick to detect humbug yet eager for culture, would rush in and tread down many traditional sanctities. They would stand no nonsense; they would be impatient of the pedantries and the textual minutiae of classical scholarship; they would insist on something more modern and more actual; they might even think that English Literature, after

having time to produce Shakespeare, Donne, Milton, Pope, Johnson, Wordsworth and a few others, might now have come of age¹⁶

Leavis's transfer from History to English upon his return to Cambridge was conducted against the background of an institutional revolution. For Willey, to belong to the new Tripos was to belong to 'a happy band of pioneers, united by a common faith, despised perhaps by the older academics, but sure of triumph in a glorious future.'¹⁷

It is tempting on the surface to consider Leavis's change from History to English as a metaphor for his later preoccupation with texts at the expense of their historical situations, but this fails to take into account the School's construction of 'Englishness' as a historical development within English literature. The Tripos was divided into two optional sections, 'English Literature: Modern and Medieval' and 'English Literature and History'. Though Leavis chose the former, it was nevertheless heavily historical, including, for example papers on 'Life, Literature and Thought (1350-1603)', 'History of English Literature (1603-)', and 'History of Literary Criticism'. As Leavis's biographer Ian MacKillop perceptively writes, Quiller-Couch 'wanted "his" Tripos to school undergraduates in England, of which literature was a part. He wanted it to be a school of English in a literal sense.'¹⁸

The three most influential lecturers of the School—Mansfield Forbes, I.A. Richards, E.M.W. Tillyard—came from privileged backgrounds and Leavis's habitus was in tension with all three. The son of a shop keeper, English Studies was, for Leavis, a means to social advancement; Forbes, Richards, and Tillyard did not have such concerns, or at least to the same degree. Described by Q.D.L. as a 'mooncalf or an archangel,' Forbes was able to enjoy an eccentric, bohemian lifestyle by virtue of a large

inheritance. Richards, whose father ran an alkali works, came from upper middle-class origins. Likewise, Tillyard came from an influential Cambridge family and was even found in his early work to have cited upper-class accoutrements as an indication of critical preferences. For example, he wrote in *Lamb's Criticism* (1923) that Lamb 'is as it were, a man who in 1860 admires Chippendale chairs, not an original who in 1923 deliberately adorns his house with the furniture of 1860: even in 1923 he would have liked Chippendale chairs, though with just a trifle less relish.'¹⁹ While Quiller-Couch provided a basic framework, Forbes, Richards, and Tillyard provided the substance of the English School. Though the syllabus was well demarcated, it was, according to Tillyard, 'susceptible of very wide interpretation.'²⁰ Quiller-Couch gave them an operational freedom, and it was the decisions of the three that shaped the policies of the new English School.²¹ Although there is no evidence that they looked down on Leavis as a student (in fact, Forbes gave him a grant for postgraduate study), as a colleague Leavis was decidedly outside of the common room.

'English' Egalitarianism

The First World War was also an important event for English Studies outside of Cambridge. One year after the Armistice the Newbolt Committee set out to analyse the 'Teaching of English in England' (1921). The Report articulated a growing consensus that English Studies could form the foundation of a national identity that would serve to ameliorate class differences. In order to validate its conclusions, the Newbolt Committee had taken evidence from a number of figures in University English: from London, W.P. Ker (also the Professor of Poetry at Oxford); from Cambridge, Stewart, Chadwick, and Quiller-Couch; from Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh; and, formerly from Edinburgh, George

Saintsbury. The wave of patriotic sentiment touched off by the War fuelled an opposition to philology. Chadwick, for example, made no secret that he believed that English Studies 'came to be regarded largely through German glasses, and the chief weight was . . . laid on that element which English had in common with German, viz., the groundwork of the language.'²² For Chadwick this was disastrous: 'it cannot be too clearly recognised that compulsory philology is the natural and mortal enemy of humanistic studies.'²³ For Raleigh, before English Literature could be the foundation of a liberal education, it had to be freed 'from slavery to philology and phonology.'²⁴

If the promotion of English Studies was seen to be only a crude patriotism instituted at the Universities, the new subject would likely fail once such sentiments faded. No doubt realising this, the Report laid the ideological foundations for a much broader educational justification:

A declaration that in our present system English holds but an unsatisfactory position would have been, we saw, valueless The inadequate conception of the teaching of English in this country is not a separate defect which can be separately remedied. It is due to a more far-reaching failure—the failure to conceive the full meaning and possibilities of national education as a whole, and that failure again is due to a misunderstanding of the educational values to be found in the different regions of mental activity, and especially to an underestimation of the importance of the English language and literature.²⁵

According to the Report, distinctions between public and private education had resulted in a widening of the 'mental distance between classes in England.'²⁶ The rhetoric that Committee employed went much further than the meritocratic ideal of the newer

universities. English Studies was a means to ‘obliterate . . . the lines of separation between the young of the different classes.’²⁷ Aligning culture and education, the Committee argued *vis á vis* Arnold that if ‘culture’ was made accessible to the population as a whole, it could serve to unite the classes. The opposite was also true. Classics was ‘a possession of the privileged class’ that only reinforced divisions.²⁸ If it was consequently ‘impossible to make use of the Classics as a fundamental part of a national system of education,’ the Board was driven

in our search for great art, to enquire whether there is available any similar and sufficient channel of supply which is within reach of all without distinction. We feel that, for an Englishman, to ask this question is at the same time to answer it. To every child in this country, there is one language with which he must necessarily be familiar and by that alone, he has the power of drawing directly from one of the great literatures of the world.²⁹

Promoting English as the centre of an uncompromising egalitarianism was unrealistic. Without the levelling the educational system it was unlikely that a new class amity would result from even the most thorough implementation of English Studies. Although an ideal was perhaps unachievable, significant progress could be gained in the middle-ground. Attending the larger claims for English was a practical reassessment of teaching methodology, including recommendations for directed class discussion, comprehension exercises based on poetry and prose, and broaching the then controversial topic of creative writing.³⁰ In themselves these developments could not be described as cutting edge for the time, but they were not widespread. The wide distribution of the report—it broke HMSO sales records—served to unify many teachers

under a common methodology. As David Shayer notes in *The Teaching of English in Schools* (1972):

Textbook and English method writers were not slow to follow the lead given by the report with regard to specific features concerning English training which had been raised in its pages; indeed during the years immediately following [Newbolt], it becomes almost a *sine qua non* to pay obsequious compliments to the Report in the preface to any textbook published.³¹

The Report succeeded in centralising English as a subject within education, both philosophically and practically. A decade later, the new status of English Studies made it possible for Leavis to head a movement that subverted Report's egalitarianism for an elitist aesthetic. In the near future, however, Leavis would display the Report's ideals in a Ph.D. thesis promoting a democratised literary production.

III. The Regular Channels

Leavis's undergraduate studies progressed smoothly until his father died when Leavis was revising for final his examinations. Quiller-Couch was compassionate and Leavis was given a first, but it was not with distinction. Candidates more successful than Leavis—like Tillyard—were given fellowships on the basis of academic excellence (for example, achieving a high first in the Tripos), or by preparing a prize essay. Desiring to teach, Leavis's only realistic option was to apply for the Ph.D., which had been recently established at the behest of the Science faculties. Previously, the only doctorate available at Cambridge was a Litt.D. It was given by peers on the basis of a body of published work and carried an elite status of collegial approval. In the Sciences the Ph.D. was

respected, but in the Humanities a doctorate based on thesis work was often resented for being a professional qualification that disregarded the regular channels. In fact, ten years after he was awarded the degree, Leavis was the only Ph.D. teaching in Cambridge English. Anxious about the disdain that the degree caused, Leavis instructed Chatto to remove the title 'Ph.D.' from the author description in his books, as it would 'raise the worst suspicions, and, anyway, looks comic.'³² The Ph.D. was, however, a route that could lead to teaching. After Quiller-Couch and Forbes awarded Leavis a studentship, he took up postgraduate study in 1921 under Quiller-Couch's supervision.

With George Saintsbury as his examiner, Leavis sat his viva in 1924 for a thesis titled 'The Relationship of Journalism to Literature: Studied in the Rise and Earlier Development of the Press in England'. Methodologically it was a product of the historical aspects of the new Tripos, though its democratic designs were in tension with the privileged English faculty. It was an unwieldy document that covered the scope of the course, beginning with Edward III's reign (1327-77) and ending with Arnold Bennett (1867-1931). The title originally registered, 'Journalism and Literature: A Historical Study of Relations Between Them in England', reveals how much at odds the views of the early Leavis were with the pared down canon that eventually became associated with his name. The abridged literary history for which Leavis became famous was a reaction against the numerous broad histories and anthologies that were represented by the work of his external examiner and supervisor. In the 1920's, of course, other methodological models were available, such as studies that centred their analyses on single authors. Most dominant among these were Sir Walter Raleigh's *Milton* (1900), *Wordsworth* (1903), and *Shakespeare* (1907). Other texts exhibited a theoretical perspective,

including Ford Madox Hueffer's *The Critical Attitude* (1911), Henry James's *Notes on Novelists* (1914), the more contemporary T.S. Eliot's *The Sacred Wood* (1920), and Ezra Pound's *Instigations* (1920). But, historical analysis was more amenable to the education Leavis received at the University. At this early stage in his career, concentrating on theory or biography would have meant taking an undue risk. Given that his supervisor was the Head of the School, it is not surprising that Leavis was inclined to replicate the historical timeline of the Tripos.

Saintsbury was well known for writing sweeping critical analyses that were circumscribed only by a broadly defined topic.³³ This was perhaps the only way the critic who famously claimed to 'have read more than any man who ever lived,' could contain himself.³⁴ In *History of Criticism and Literary Taste* (1900), for example, Saintsbury attempted to 'delimit' the 'frontier' by describing criticism as 'that function of judgement which busies itself with the goodness or badness, the success or ill-success of literature.'³⁵ This definition was hardly limiting at all, and the result was a three volume, seventeen hundred page overview of criticism from Xenophanes to Nietzsche. Such breadth came at the cost of any penetrating analysis and the volumes read like a whistle-stop tour of Saintsbury's personal preferences. John Gross characterised this approach as 'first read all the books, and then recommend whatever you have enjoyed as forthrightly as possible.'³⁶ Saintsbury's brand of criticism was related to his position as a gourmand advisor to the middle classes. Reading was only one aspect of a connoisseurship that included 'The Cookery of the Grouse' (1923), 'The Cookery of the Partridge' (1923), as well as his most famous extra-literary recommendation, *Notes on a*

Cellar-Book (1920), which was based on his impressions of wines and dinner parties from 1884-1915.³⁷

Leavis's supervisor projected himself as a gentrified belletrist who preferred nostalgia and exoticism. However, Quiller-Couch's performance was problematic. On the one hand he was educated at Oxford and compiled the Oxford anthologies of *English Prose* (1930), *English Verse* (1900), and *Victorian Verse* (1922), and was even the Commodore of a yacht club, but on the other, he was a children's writer and a popular novelist. Knighted in 1910, he was often successful in obscuring the latter, but the extremity of his efforts to do so reveal an uncertainty in social and market position. In the dedication of *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, for example, Quiller-Couch writes with great ostentation 'To The President, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College Oxford, A House of Learning Ancient, Liberal, Humane, And My Most Kindly Nurse.'³⁸ Quiller-Couch also paid tribute to the University's symbolic status: 'Oxford has ever with such lovely rightness chosen to await and teach perfection, ignoring clamours of the moment and the market.'³⁹ The dedications in the other Oxford anthologies exhibit a similar pomposity and the prefaces approach readers trained in the Classics by using Greek and Latin without offering translation. Quiller-Couch also makes a show of acknowledging titled individuals such as the Marquess of Crewe, the Lady Betty Balfour, and the Lady Victoria Buxton. One Cambridge donor remained unconvinced however, observing that Quiller-Couch was 'amiable but somehow common, he looks like a racing tout.'⁴⁰

IV. Democracy and the Marketplace

Leavis's thesis stood out from the gentility of critics like Saintsbury and Quiller-Couch. Instead of 'ignoring clamours of the moment and the market,' Leavis frames them within a socio-historical analysis of literary production, which asserts that to alienate the market is to invite irrelevance. Deploying a logic similar to the Newbolt Report's common culture, Leavis attempts to cast off an habitus of refinement and social aspiration. Such democratic tendencies have been lost on many scholars who bracket the thesis as a mere student production in order to fabricate a more or less seamless chronology of Leavis's criticism. In 1976, for example, Ronald Hayman asserted that the thesis was concerned with 'the relationship between the debasement of cultural standards and the widening literacy after the Shakespearean period,' and unproblematically aligned it with Leavis's later antagonism towards the literary market.⁴¹ Ian MacKillop commits a similar error twenty years later, imagining the document as a pre-cursor to *Fiction and The Reading Public* (1932):

Leavis had . . . themes that were to emerge later, in his own work and especially that of his wife With the growth of the print industries a complex variety of specialised markets was created: groups of readers found their niches and it became increasingly difficult to move, mentally, between, between, the types of work designed for different readership groups In his Ph.D. dissertation the golden world is a brief urban one, that of the post-Restoration London of John Dryden and Roger L'Estrange, with the coffee-

house a nerve-centre of communication in which writing was for group, not market.⁴²

But Leavis never mentions a 'golden world', and even if he did, it could hardly be the days of L'Estrange when print—*especially* the journalistic reportage of events—was so severely censored. In reality, the converse of MacKillop's claim is true. The central argument of the thesis is that journalism's broad market appeal sets an example to writers struggling to reach a wider audience. Sympathetic to Leavis's later opposition to the market, MacKillop chose to disguise this aspect of Leavis's thesis in the biography. MacKillop must have been confounded upon reading the auto-heretical thesis and so decided to preserve an icon by quickly glossing over the document. Nevertheless, in its assumption of a democratising economics in cultural production, the thesis is the most conspicuous text of Leavis's early career.

Defining the Literary

However rudimentary in its association between economics and cultural production, the thesis can be seen to assume a perspective that parallels Bourdieu's own. Resisting aesthetic circumscriptions, Bourdieu argues that literary artefacts are defined socially, in particular by the manner in which they are perceived, categorised, and, to a degree, generated by a public (either by writers filling a public demand or, conversely, by refusing to do so). Likewise, Leavis argues that in themselves traditional generic distinctions between what constitutes the literary and the journalistic all too easily limit potentially arbitrary modes of production:

We often talk as if journalism were a kind of writing, a kind distinguished from literature as a whole by qualities of its own, or by some special

function or purpose. Does all the description we can give of it amount to no more than this: that it is the kind of writing found in journals? If so, in a world where journals range from 'Mind' to 'Comic Cuts', to beat about the 'ism' for some constant element of meaning would be no better than hunting the Snark Of course when we talk of 'journalism' what we commonly have in mind is writing that deals with matters of current interest If, however, we mean no more than this, we have not made a very clear distinction between journalism and literature.⁴³

Rather, the distinction is generated in a social sphere irreducible to the text or writer. Literature is 'memorable speech in writing,' while the journalistic reality of having 'the reader more directly and frankly in view' contributes to a contextualised production that can become obscure outside of those circumstances in which it was written.⁴⁴

As texts are produced within social structures, it is possible to categorise them according to their social function, such that even Elizabethan drama 'fulfilled the office of journalism.'⁴⁵ Associating journalism with characteristics he would later correlate only with literature, Leavis argues it was on the stage in which 'Elizabethan England found its completest expression. The playhouse was more than a place of amusement; it was a mart of ideas and sentiments. There the social consciousness of the day focused itself. In that general respect the stage did then for society what the press does now.'⁴⁶ Leavis goes so far as to associate Elizabethan drama with the Sunday papers, arguing that the stage performed a function

now performed mainly by those Sunday papers which provide the staple reading of a great part of the population—that needed no disguise:

Henslowe's lists (1598-99) contain the titles of a series of plays—'domestic tragedies' they are usually labelled—founded on murders that had recently been chronicled in ballads and pamphlets.⁴⁷

Whereas Leavis later considers journalism as subject to propaganda and misrepresentation, in the thesis it prefigures the novel not, significantly, as an elevated artistic expression, but as a form of democratic literature

that shows us men and women—not mere romantic names, adventuring fantastically in an unrealised world—but men and women as we know them, concerned with the same problems as ourselves, in a setting of dining-tables, firesides and city-streets; a literature that ministers to the sympathetic interests that we have in our fellows because they are like us, and to our engrossment in the spectacle of life.⁴⁸

According to Leavis, the imaginative representation of the common man in journals like the *Tatler* and *Spectator* 'formulated the novel.'⁴⁹ Leavis cites Steele: journalism should imagine not 'princes and persons who act in high spheres,' nor be formulated by writers for 'the ostentation of their own force.'⁵⁰ Rather than 'such high passages, I was thinking it would be of great use, (if anybody could hit it), to lay before the world such adventures as befall persons not exalted above the common level.'⁵¹

Comparing numbers of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* to novelists like Dickens who found inspiration among 'common people' and 'common events,' Leavis overturns the division between high and low that informs his later work.⁵² When these numbers were compiled into sets, Leavis notes that they 'had something more like the novel than anything that had appeared before, something belonging to the same order of creation as

the *Pickwick Papers*.’⁵³ According to Leavis, the novel was not only profoundly influenced by such journalism, its parallel form and wide circulation prepared a market for the genre: ‘if the succeeding novelists found a public ready to support them, they owed this largely to the *Tatler* and *Spectator*.’⁵⁴

The Domination of Journalism

Despite its title—‘The Relationship of Journalism to Literature’—the bulk of Leavis’s thesis is concerned with the ways in which literature feeds on journalism. For Leavis, the social relevance of journalistic forms enables literature to successfully pursue readers; this process begins with a social milieu that both artist and journalist rely on for inspiration.

Dealing with the immediate, the topical, the things of the day, the journalist may be able to catch and fix something of their life and actuality.

Compulsions of time, space, and the appointed task may vex and hamper him; but the struggle with compulsions throbs in every living work of art like a pulse, and if every artist does not find them where the journalist does, he finds them in a stringent form or stubborn medium.⁵⁵

Though artists *should* rely on a social context for inspiration, they do not always do so. Quoting Santyana, Leavis considers the poet a ‘spokesman of his full soul at a given moment, [who] cannot consider eventualities, or think of anything but the message he is sent to deliver, whether the world can then hear him or not.’⁵⁶

Thus, for Leavis, the terms ‘journalism’ and ‘literature’ represent two distinct forms of production; on the one hand, journalism is a democratically relevant discourse enforced by the market and, on the other hand, literature is governed by a belief in

autonomy. In similar but other terms, Bourdieu defines the division between large-scale production and restricted production as a division between two rationales: either a heteronomous compliance with market demand or a strategic autonomy from economic concern. But, while Bourdieu sees the two rationales in a struggle to dominate the field as a whole, Leavis sees the two principles ideally combining in literary production. Journalism, for example, solves the artist's predicament by 'keeping [literature] on terms of intimacy with the life of the day.'⁵⁷

However, Bourdieu, like Leavis, recognises that producers reliant on a wider readership must cater to its demands in order to be successful. For Leavis, a journalist failing to address 'a particular audience at a particular moment'

cannot console himself with the prospective ear of posterity: if he writes for a living he will starve; if he writes in order to move opinion or feeling, his cause remains unserved, the enemy wins the election, the famine stricken die Writing that fails to get read by the audience that it is meant for fails as journalism.⁵⁸

Leavis represents this struggle as an economy between printed matter and a readership, between supply and demand, going so far as to insist this relationship is a defining feature of journalism:

When, let us say, we have, on the one hand a society that carries on a great deal of its intercourse through the medium of print, and has a steady appetite for reading matter on current topics; and, on the other, writers practised in ministering to that appetite—when, that is, we have between supply and

demand that intimate relation which the journal expresses most completely—then we have journalism.⁵⁹

Leavis proceeds to give specific examples of how journalism fulfilled its economic logic. When considering the eighteenth century *Tatler* and *Spectator*, for example, Leavis quotes a correspondent reminding Addison of the driving force behind the periodical: 'All men through different paths, make at the same common thing, money; and it is to her that we owe the politician the merchant and the lawyer; nay to be free with you. I believe that we are also beholden for our *Spectator*.'⁶⁰ Leavis continues this sentiment: 'certainly, Steele and Addison would not have continued the *Spectator* had not they been able to make it to pay. More than that, without the *Tatler* there would not have been the *Spectator*, and, as we have seen, Steele's clearest motive in starting the *Tatler* was probably to increase his income.'⁶¹ Journalism that deviates from this rationale is ultimately viewed negatively, so much so that the exhortation that opens the first number of the *Tatler*—'such worthy and well affected members of the commonwealth may be instructed, after their reading, what to think; which shall be the chief end of this my paper'—is censured by Leavis: 'is it enough for the journalist to be writing about what (in his opinion) people ought to be thinking about?'⁶²

Rather than showing how the *Tatler* instructed a readership, Leavis highlights the ways in which the *Tatler* negotiated different readerships in order to profit from the widest possible market. The two main groups that Steele needed to negotiate were those to whom 'coffee house talk—sly personalities, topical banter and literary and dramatic causerie' would appeal and those who would purchase a journal also dedicated to sermons and homilies.⁶³ Leavis notes:

If Steele, uniting a concern for religion and morality with a taste for literature and the refinements of social intercourse, is to bring together in one reading public the citizen and the wit, he must find a manner of treating solemn topics that will pass at Will's [coffee house].⁶⁴

Because of such examples, artists are able to make the concessions necessary for a similar relationship. The writer that refuses his audience 'cannot make a discovery of the universal within himself unless he is fully a member of the society to which he belongs, and full membership means giving and receiving on both sides. He may not be able to go on writing at all if he cannot persuade society to read and pay for what he has written.'⁶⁵

According to Bourdieu, such objections to artistic autonomy represent an attempt to 'hierarchise' the wider field according to a large-scale logic. Certainly the argument that journalistic concessions to the market tempers artistic freedom downplays the struggle between the two principles in favour larger-scale production. Restricted producers attempt to dominate the field by legitimating definitions of art and literature, which, according to Bourdieu, 'naturally tend to exclude "bourgeois" writers and artists, whom they see as "enemy agents".' Large-scale producers defend their position by inventing 'weapons, which . . . [they] can immediately turn against the cultural producers most attached to their autonomy.'⁶⁶ One example of this is the way in which large-scale producers 'discredit every attempt to impose an autonomous principle of hierarchization, and thus [serve] their own interest.'⁶⁷ Though at this early stage Leavis does not hold membership in the literary field—least of all as a large-scale producer—his replication of that sub-field's logic reveals a predisposition that Bourdieu would associate with Leavis's upbringing. However, as Leavis was, in terms of his habitus, an

aspirant to a higher class status and restricted production, his thesis was a rejection of that habitus. Though, as Bourdieu would argue, this was not necessarily conscious. Given the circumstances surrounding the thesis—the death of his father, the negative perception of a professional degree, the gentility of Cambridge English contrasting with his marginal economic status as a student, and, of course, the impact of Newbolt—it does follow that Leavis would question his social and cultural aspirations. But Leavis was unable to escape his habitus, rather the opposite: as a reaction against it, his thesis served to validate the importance of class as a structuring disposition.

Indeed, Leavis goes far beyond a mere description of market influence. He quotes Sainte-Beuve who thanks necessity, ‘that great muse, which, at supreme moments, makes the dumb man speak and the stammerer articulate, for having forced him to address a wider public, to speak in the language of all.’⁶⁸ For the early Leavis, artistic freedom is a principle that can stumble literary production and it is journalism that helps authors give up such imprudence. In the case of magazines like *Blackwoods’s* and the *London*, Leavis notes that they gave authors ‘opportunities of keeping both ends together while they were maturing their own schemes, or if necessary, learning their art, and at the same time, making an impression on the public.’⁶⁹ In striking contrast to his later view of the popular writer, Leavis favourably quotes Arnold Bennett in order to cement the connection between writers and their readerships: ‘the greatest artists have managed to keep on good terms with the public If he does not do so, he proves himself incompetent. He is merely mumbling to himself The artist who says he doesn’t give a fig for the public is a liar.’⁷⁰

Leavis's use of Bennett is revealing. In *The Author's Craft* (1914) and *The Truth about an Author* (1911), Bennett made his reputation by attacking the avant-garde and by maintaining a pragmatic attitude towards literary production. Bennett argued that contemporary authors had two choices: they could resist democratisation, starve, and potentially earn the respect of a later generation, or they could conform to popular taste and earn immediate popularity and prosperity.⁷¹ Likewise, in Leavis's paradigm, the artist is subject to market preferences. It is journalism that helps him develop the skills necessary for both literal and figurative survival.

V. Towards an Aesthetic Approach

Though the bulk of the thesis favours the economic relationship between authors and the market, Leavis is not convinced that the relationship is always positive. For example, he expresses an anxious belief that the rapid expansion of the reading public in the twentieth century has lowered standards: 'In these days newspapers aspire to circulate among the million, and it is the million that set the standard: journalists find it most easy to arrest the crowd with vulgar sensation.'⁷² However pessimistic the view, it takes up a very small portion of the text. Leavis is careful to downplay his concern: 'the balance of good and ill is not easy to strike. Journalism still gives writers a start and an introduction to the public. The journalist's lack of freedom does not necessarily stifle his talent.'⁷³ The thesis concludes optimistically: 'Whatever the accompanying drawbacks may be now, the influences through which, when conditions were less complex, we clearly saw journalism serving literature, are still at work.'⁷⁴

With the publication of *Mass Civilisation* in 1930, the doubts regarding the effects of the market on literature were transformed into a seeming reversal of the thesis. If in the thesis the market is portrayed as democratic and enforcing a common culture, in *Mass Civilisation* the market was the means by which a 'herd' of readers curbed artistic autonomy. Expressing his habitus—the desire for a higher status—Leavis began to pursue an aesthetic realm that was ordered not by its popular appeal but by a literary value that was recognised and perpetuated by an elite, a 'minority'. Outside of the Cambridge common room himself, it is significant that participation in Leavis's minority was, like the middle-class shift towards a professional ideal, theoretically beyond traditional class distinctions. Indeed, in the early days of *Scrutiny*, Leavis could be found to 'agree with the Marxist to the extent of believing some form of economic communism to be inevitable and desirable.'⁷⁵

Given his aspiring middle-class habitus, Leavis's shift from populist to elitist is hardly surprising; however, the particular form that this shift took was determined by the context of Cambridge English. In 1925, Leavis gave his first freelance supervision entitled 'Literature and Society from the Restoration to the Death of Johnson', changing the title to 'Eighteenth-century Literature' in the next term. The new title indicates Leavis's intensifying focus on literature and criticism to the exclusion of traditional historical methodologies: a necessary step in his move towards an aesthetic perspective. The focus on literature was aided in great part by Richards's new course in the same year, 'Practical Criticism', published later as *Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgement* in 1929. By comparing and categorising reader responses to selections of poetry that did not indicate the title or author of the work, Richards sought to

demonstrate how reading could be an exercise in prejudice whether rooted in class, politics, or otherwise: 'I hope . . . to present an instructive collection of contemporary opinions, presuppositions, theories, beliefs, responses and the rest.'⁷⁶ But Richards did not believe that all reading is necessarily prejudiced by outside influences, as with 'a better control of these components in our lives,' it was possible to assess a work of literature on its own merits as an aesthetic object.⁷⁷ An enthusiastic attendee for many years, Leavis' critical responses were included in the book that eventually resulted from the lectures, and are the first textual evidence of his aesthetic outlook.⁷⁸

T.S. Eliot was the other major influence in Leavis's move towards literary value. In 1926, Eliot delivered the Clark Lectures on Metaphysical Poetry and published *Selected Poems*. Encouraging students to buy the book, Leavis was becoming known for his enthusiasm for contemporary literature and criticism, giving well-attended courses in 1927 on 'Twentieth Century Poetry' and 'Critics and Critical Problems'. But, having considerably modified his outlook since his thesis, by 1926 Leavis had yet to secure a publication. The *Cambridge Review* allowed Leavis a space to fashion his new perspective. The review was more of a bulletin of University events than an organ for influential opinion. Though the dons did contribute views and reviews, they tended to be relatively benign, and the journal's impact on the wider literary field was considerably lesser than a periodical like *Blast*, or, of course, *Scrutiny*. Therefore, Leavis's contributions were overlooked by those outside of Cambridge; this non-status is demonstrated by the fact that they have never been considered part of his recognised *oeuvre*. However, Leavis's contributions to the review are important as they initiated his career long use of Eliot to establish a position in the field.

Leavis's first contribution to the *Cambridge Review* was an appraisal of *England Reclaimed* (1927) by Osbert Sitwell. Leavis begins: 'It is curious that the Sitwells, regarded by the apt reader as standing (along with Mr. Eliot) for complex ultra-modernity . . . should devote so much of their publicity to their childhood.'⁷⁹ By situating Eliot as a poetic constant, the review begins to order writers according to a purely literary value. If Eliot was a landmark, Sitwell was lacking, deserving comparison with lesser poets. Leavis continues: the reader 'might accept the simple entertainment were it not for a recurring hint of high pretensions. Reading, for example, the gibe on p. 34 at the rhythms of Mr Alfred Noyes' verse, he will be moved to comment that the rhythms of Mr. Osbert Sitwell's verse are no subtler.'⁸⁰ Leavis's ordering was a direct application of Eliot's argument in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1927): 'No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead. I mean this as a principle of aesthetic, not merely historical criticism.'⁸¹

In 1929, F.L. Lucas—a commanding figure of Cambridge English—condescended Eliot and afforded Leavis an opportunity to more firmly align himself with the poet. Lucas had published a review of *For Lancelot Andrewes* (1928) in the *New Statesman*, which was patronising to say the least:

Mr. Eliot's great reputation among the young is due to two facts: that, of those men who practise and criticise the more recent fashions in literature, he has some acquaintance with the past—an acquaintance that strikes with awe the young men whose reading begins with the Edwardians.⁸²

Eliot's outspoken opponent at Cambridge, Lucas had also used his position as a Librarian at King's to prevent the acquisition of Eliot's books.⁸³ It was realised by Leavis that by defending Eliot, he would be setting himself against more conservative members of Cambridge English. Lucas's 'young' could be turned to Leavis's rhetorical advantage. If the 'young' appreciated Eliot, it was the 'old' who failed to recognise his significance. The effect was to marginalise Eliot's Cambridge detractors as outmoded: a common tactic among 'young pretenders' who, according to Bourdieu, 'break the silence of the doxa.'⁸⁴ Certainly the form of Leavis's challenge denotes his status.

One recognised the note. It tends to recur when the consciously adult, especially in the academic world, speak and write of Mr. Eliot The challenge quoted above does seem to give one who counts himself among the young, and who discusses literature a good deal with others of the young, a fair opportunity to acknowledge the debt [to Eliot] and to define its nature.⁸⁵

Centring his response in terms of young versus old, Leavis expounds on why the young owe Eliot a debt: his 'acquaintance with the past . . . has illuminated for us both the past and the present. We find commonly that the erudition of the constituted authorities does neither.'⁸⁶ Against erudition, Leavis set tradition, signifying a break with the methodology of his thesis. While he had once argued that literature should be contextualised in the historical relationship between writers and markets, he now espoused Eliot's concept of tradition, itself not a product of erudition, but rather an abstraction: the 'historical sense' that

compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order.⁸⁷

As it is argued by Eliot further on, the author is a location where the present and the past meet. Practically, this meant for Leavis that to profitably examine literature, one need only to see a writer in relation to other writers. Through Eliot, Leavis was able to move away from a historical analysis that observed a broader social context to an analysis that saw the literary text as the only necessary historical document. If his thesis was a reaction against an aspirant habitus, his use of Eliot was an affirmation of it. As Bourdieu realises, the promotion of a 'pure' aesthetic that disregards an economic and socio-historical context is evidence of pretensions to restricted production and a particular kind of habitus.⁸⁸ It is important to be cautious here. Even in *Mass Civilisation*, Leavis did recognise the commercial and socio-historical context of culture, though he severely resented its association with literary objects. However, that Leavis's aesthetic was less than 'pure' does not invalidate its connection to an aspirant habitus; quite the opposite is the case. A middle-class aspirant at a gentrified Cambridge, Leavis's limited aesthetic shift reflected his standing. By pursuing a pure aesthetic, Leavis was in one sense trying to improve his status. However, unable to wholly achieve the latter, he qualifies the former.

Eliot could also be used to warrant an ethical association between the preservation of tradition and the preservation of civilisation. Leavis writes: 'we feel we must consider very seriously his view of civilisation as depending upon a strenuously

achieved and traditional normality, a trained and arduous common sense, a kind of docility to traditional wisdom.’⁸⁹ Significantly, this ‘view’ is more Leavis’s than it is Eliot’s—*For Lancelot Andrewes*, or even *The Sacred Wood* never directly state such a position.⁹⁰ Eliot’s prose demonstrates an inclination towards specificity, opacity, and understatement, as Leavis termed it, ‘the spare and sinewy scrupulousness of his writing’; this was a style that invited Leavis to draw his own conclusions.⁹¹ As we will see in the next chapter, such manipulation became the preferred tactic by which Leavis came to establish his position in the field.

CHAPTER TWO

The Position of Culture

Near the end of his term with the *Cambridge Review*, the dual themes of aesthetic value and cultural decline that came to inform Leavis's critical position in the literary field had found an embryonic expression. But it is not until the publication of a series of seminal texts, including *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture* (1930), *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932), *New Bearings in English Poetry* (1932), that the themes became formalised. The particular cast that these publications assumed were heavily influenced by the Leavises' strategies for the accumulation of symbolic capital. By taking into account the structures of the wider literary field and the positions available for occupation within the sub-field of academic literary criticism, the Leavises were able to 'make a name for themselves'. *Fiction and the Reading Public*, for example, exhibited an extreme historical pessimism towards large-scale cultural production and advocated a self-promoting alternative free from the influences of the market, the Minority Press. Through the poaching of key categories from well known critics like Matthew Arnold (and to some extent Arnold Bennett), *Mass Civilisation* integrated such pessimism into a definition of culture that would be well-recognised within academic literary criticism. In a similar manner, *New Bearings* sees Leavis attaching his vision of

cultural decline to a high profile poet, T.S. Eliot, in order to familiarise a wider audience with his point of view.

I. The Structure of British Publishing

As Leavis came to recognise (albeit in far less objective terms), publishers in the British literary field of the early twentieth century were situated between two poles: between a reliance on the large-scale market and a rejection of it, between heteronomy and autonomy, between large-scale production and restricted production. The late nineteenth century saw publishers like Alfred Harmsworth—who was demonised by the Leavises—producing for a public on a scale never before realised. For example, *Tit-Bits*, the famous ‘snippet’ paper was, by 1888, selling 350,000 copies a week. By 1909, Harmsworth owned a conglomerate of fifty titles that sold eight and a half million a week.¹ As Joseph McAleer argues, the success of publishers like Harmsworth was made possible by a number of important educational, economic, and industrial developments. These included an increasing literacy among the working class—due in part to the 1870 Elementary Education act; the elimination of stamp duties and all ‘taxes on knowledge’ by 1861 and a decrease in the price of paper (making large-scale production more profitable); the increase in circulating libraries and growth of railways to distribute the magazines and books; and the invention of the rotary press, which significantly expedited production.

By the 1930’s several publishers of note were able to take advantage of the new market, including Mills and Boon, D.C. Thompson and Co., and, of course, Penguin. These publishers survived in a competitive market because they recognised the

importance of maintaining a brand and producing for their readers' tastes. Founded in 1908 by two former Methuen employees, Mills and Boon did not begin publishing romance fiction exclusively until the 1930's, when a series of near disasters forced the firm to focus on its most popular genre.² As a result of promoting the list as a whole (rather than an individual writer), the firm was able to establish its imprint as a brand that was seen by their readers to guarantee an established quality of romance novel. Initially sold in circulating libraries (and by mail catalogue) the print runs were relatively small—8,000 for an established author and 3,000 for a new writer—but the books were repeatedly read. In the case of the circulating libraries, a book would be read hundreds of times before it was replaced.³

Although the levels of re-cycling discouraged the sale of replacement copies and prompted the firm to claim 'we sometimes wish that we could fit our novels with a self-destroying fuse to operate as the hundredth reader closes the book after the last page,' the firm was able to keep a large number of titles in print at any one time.⁴ In 1939, for example, over 450 novels were in print. The firm's success was grounded in a writing formula proven to be preferred by its readers: it always privileged the heroine's perspective, featured the 'Alpha-man' (the strong willed, often handsome male partner), and resisted the inclusion of 'smutty' and political references. In the 1930's the Mills and Boon brand was so well established that the firm presumed to pursue a near monogamy with their readers, as an advertisement printed at the back of every book suggested:

The Fiction Market is overburdened with new novels, and the ordinary reader finds it most difficult to choose the right type of story either to buy or to

borrow . . . Really the only way to choose is to limit your reading to those publishers whose lists are carefully selected, and whose fiction imprint is a sure guarantee of good reading . . . Mills & Boon issue a strictly limited Fiction List, and the novels they publish all possess real story-telling qualities of an enduring nature.⁵

Like Mills and Boon, D.C. Thompson and Co. were successful because their readers could rely on predictable material that served to either comfort or excite. The firm's list was divided between 'romance papers and the blood and thunder papers.'⁶ The former included magazines entitled *The People's Friend*, *My Weekly*, *Weekly Welcome*, and *Women's Way*, engineered for a middle class female readership preferring romantic stories (some of which were serialised from Mills and Boon novels). The latter included titles like *Red Letter*, *Secrets*, *Flame* that were engineered for 'mill workers in Scotland and the industrial towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire,' who were believed to prefer tales with murder and violence.⁷ The success of the D.C. and Thompson's intuitions about their readers was such that the magazines all enjoyed circulations in the hundreds of thousands throughout their run.

The most well-recognised large-scale publisher to emerge from the 1930's was Penguin. Founded in 1935, the Penguin imprint became famous for licensing hardback books with a proven public interest and re-printing them in paperback for a fraction of the price. Compared to novels which, in 1935, cost on average seven shillings and sixpence, the standard Penguin price was sixpence.⁸ In order to make a profit on the cut-rate books, the firm had to sell them in large numbers. In the early days, this meant selling 20,000 copies of each book they printed. Though traditional booksellers

eventually came to realise the value of the books' high turnover rate, such a number could only initially be achieved by what J.E. Morpurgo (Allen Lane's biographer) termed 'impulse buying,' which meant a wide distribution from department stores like Woolworth's, to tobacconists, to tea-shops.⁹ Furthermore, while well-known for making authors with a consecrated symbolic capital available to a wider public, it is significant that eight of the first ten books sold were licensed with an eye to their popularity, including detective thrillers by Agatha Christie and Dorothy L. Sayers, while only two, Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (Penguin publication 1935) and André Maurois's *Ariel* (Penguin publication 1935), were published for being 'distinctively superior.'¹⁰ Little changed over two decades and, by 1956, crime novels were still considered to form the foundation of the firm's list.¹¹

As with Mills and Boon, Penguin was aware of the importance of marketing a brand of book rather than a book by a particular author. With a simple typography and colour coding scheme (orange for novels, green for detective stories, blue for non-fiction) and a standard size (7 and 1/8 inches by 4 and 3/8 inches) 'Penguinized' books were easily identified by consumers, often from a distance when the books were displayed together.¹² Rejecting new novelists, Penguin, like Mills and Boon, insisted on only publishing fiction that was sure to be purchased in large enough numbers to bring a profit. This principle guaranteed readers that a book would be either be entertaining (in the case of the crime novels) or have a previously established symbolic capital.

The presses in the sub-field of restricted production were almost all privately owned and operated. With varying success, this encouraged an autonomy from the large-scale market and, consequently, an accumulation of symbolic capital. It also contributed

to an often precarious financial standing and frequently short life span. Many presses, in fact, closed before they could reap the symbolic benefits of restricted production. One way that many twentieth-century avant-garde presses reduced financial risk was by executing all the printing in house. Perhaps the most famous of these presses was the Hogarth Press, which began in 1917 as a hobby taken up by Virginia and Leonard Woolf. The first production set and printed by the Woolfs themselves was *Two Stories* (1917), a paper-covered booklet of one story written by Leonard and another by Virginia. The print run was tiny (around 300) and the booklet was successfully sold by subscription, proving to the Woolfs that short, avant-garde (or academic) works that would never be picked up by a commercial publisher could actually find a readership, however diminutive. By consistently publishing such texts, Hogarth had, by the 1930's, gained enough prestige to become one of the most well recognised imprints in restricted production, producing works by Virginia herself, Katherine Mansfield, and T.S. Eliot, as well as seminal academic works by F.L. Lucas and Sigmund Freud, among many others.

Following from the example of Hogarth, though far less successful, was the London based Seizin Press, run by Laura Riding and Robert Graves who were both previously published by the Woolfs. The press was founded on a principle that the Woolfs recognised. As Riding recalled:

the possibility of doing one's own printing fired thoughts in us of publishing possibilities outside the regular-publisher channels Poems are difficult commodities to market; publishers tend to accept them in the sense of doing a favour. The idea of a press, and publishing one's own poems, seemed to spell freedom.¹³

The first Seizin publication was Riding's *Love as Love, Death as Death* in 1928, followed by Gertrude Stein's *An Acquaintance with Description* and Graves's *Poems* the next year, all printed by hand. In 1930, Seizin relocated to Majorca and was able to publish four books despite trouble in obtaining type and paper. Ultimately, given the distribution problems inherent in operating from Spain—not least with the start of the Spanish Civil War in 1936—Seizin was not as successful as Hogarth had been in finding an audience. As a result, before its close in 1939 it was decided to publish several books with the London publisher Constable in 1935 with the imprint 'Seizin Press – Constable'. Though the books published with Constable (several books of poems and a set of critical volumes) were hardly written for a wide readership, the necessity of a relationship with a commercial press demonstrates the difficulty of remaining, in Riding's words, 'outside the regular-publisher channels.' One press able to remain thoroughly 'outside', was Nancy Cunard's Hours Press. Despite advice to the contrary from figures like Virginia Woolf, Cunard started the press in 1929 with no knowledge of typesetting and printing. However, she was a quick study and a set of literary connections ensured that she would have a ready supply of manuscripts to publish, including poems by Robert Graves, a draft of *XXX Cantos* by Ezra Pound (1930), and one of Samuel Beckett's early texts, *Whoroscope* (1930).

Not all small presses that published avant-garde works attempted to remain autonomous from the market. The Ovid Press, for example, was founded in 1919 by John Rodker, in order to 'bring before the public work that was then considered advanced.'¹⁴ To have commercial designs from the outset while producing in an autonomous sub-field was imprudent. Firms like Faber and Chatto were successfully

able combine the publication of avant-garde texts with commercial intentions, in part because their lists were diverse enough that the initial economic shortcomings of avant-garde texts could be made up with books that were more accessible to a wider public. But, as a tiny press with a small income, Ovid lacked the security of a diverse list or even a publicly recognised imprint. Despite publishing major Modernist works including Eliot's poems *Ara Vus Prec* (1920), Henri Gaudier-Brzeska's notebook drawings *H. Gaudier-Brezska* (1919), and, most famously, Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (1920), Rodker was unwilling (or unable) to invest in the press long enough to reap the financial rewards of their symbolic capital, and the press failed only one year after it began. This was a short life-span even for a private press. According to Roderick Cave, 'public response was very cool . . . Rodker abandoned his private press to continue his missionary activities through more conventional publishing channels.'¹⁵

As Cave realises, commercial publishing did not necessarily exclude avant-garde texts, particularly when they enhanced the prestige of the firm, as was the case with Faber and Faber. In 1925, the firm was called Faber and Gwyer and was primarily known for publishing a weekly magazine called *The Nursing Mirror*, which was subsequently sold, resulting in the two partners separating. Re-launched under the imprint Faber and Faber in 1919, the firm became well known early on for publishing important cultural figures like Cocteau, Pound, Siegfried Sassoon, and Eliot, who was hired on as a literary advisor in 1925. Though poetry was a significant presence in the list, the firm took few risks and tended to publish writers that had established their name elsewhere. It also diversified its list via the publication of a variety of genres that included biographies (such as *Plenty-Coups, Chief of the Crows: The Life Story of a*

Great Indian (1930) by Frank B. Linderman), memoirs, fiction, monographs, children's books, and nursing manuals. Even murder mysteries like Bruce Hamilton's *To Be Hanged: A Story of Murder* (1930) and Milton Propper's *Ticker Tape Murder* (1930) were published by the firm, consequently allowing it to publish works that wouldn't initially turn a large profit, if any at all. Recognised for publishing writers with established symbolic capital, firms like Faber and Faber and Leavis's publisher, Chatto and Windus (to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6), were much closer to restricted production publishing than other small commercial firms. Victor Gollancz and Jonathan Cape, for example, routinely published fiction associated with large-scale production—Gollancz was primarily known for its murder and detection list, while Cape was Ian Fleming's regular publisher—to a far greater degree than either Faber or Chatto.

II. Academic Literary Criticism

Produced among such contrarities and compromises, Leavis's own position in the literary field was part of an emerging sub-field within restricted production itself, that of academic literary criticism. One result of the widespread institutionalisation of English Studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the development of a professional academic literary criticism. With the increasing number of reviews in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, literary criticism began to exert its influence on the wider British literary field. Vibrant reviews like the *Edinburgh Review* had large readerships (at its height of popularity, each issue sold 14,000 copies, with some reprinted volumes going through ten editions) and were standard reading in many homes. Offering criticism by figures like William Hazlitt, Thomas Macaulay, and

Walter Scott, the reviews helped readers absorb (and even resist) the literary output of writers like Byron, Wordsworth, Austen, and Coleridge.

Of course, before the spread of English Studies, there was a blurred line between criticism and literary production. For example, poets like Dryden, Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, and Arnold were critics at the same time. There were also men of letters who earned a piecemeal living reviewing works and writing essays on literary topics like Johnson, Lockhart, de Quincey, Carlyle, and Jefferies. As was the case with Arnold and numerous others, authors could quite easily pass between both groups. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, literary criticism became a more distinct sub-field as it became affiliated with the universities. Poets and men of letters like Arnold, Saintsbury, Walter Raleigh, and Quiller-Couch, were beginning to be attracted by the regular salaries that came with university employment. Well into the twentieth century, of course, criticism was predominantly associated with writers that were not tied to the universities, such as Eliot, Pound, John Middleton Murry, J.C. Squire, and numerous others. But, however slowly, important literary criticism was beginning to be produced by specialists, like Leavis (among others), who had never left the university system and were known exclusively as literary critics. Cambridge, in spite of its delayed entrance into English Studies, was an important centre for academic literary criticism.

Academic literary criticism sought to define a role for English Studies not only as an alternative to the Classics and philology, but as a response to what William Empson came to call the 'prestige of the sciences.'¹⁶ The Sciences had an obvious social utility, but the benefits of the Humanities were less certain. As Empson realised, 'somewhere in the 'eighties of the last century the idea got about that Physics, and those

sciences that might be conceived of as derivatives of Physics, held a monopoly of Reason; aesthetes therefore had to eschew Reason.’¹⁷ English Studies at Cambridge attempted to reclaim lost ground by imitating the competition, though the two main approaches were quite different. While Richards and Empson pursued a disciplined aestheticism, W.W. Greg argued for a ‘material’ analysis. It is between these two poles that Leavis took up his initial position in the sub-field.

Richards, the most prominent ‘aesthetic’ member of the English School, wanted to establish literary criticism as a more rigorous exercise. In a short space of time, Richards had published four well received books—including *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923), *Principles of Literary Criticism* (1924), *Science and Poetry* (1926), and *Practical Criticism* (1929)—that broke with the dilettantism of critics like Saintsbury and Quiller-Couch. Richards aligned an aesthetic outlook with a quasi-scientific rigour that refused to see literary appreciation as ‘ineffable’, but rather as a ‘practical’ enterprise to ‘discriminate between experiences and to evaluate them.’¹⁸ Against the emotive ‘condiments’ that he believed were often employed by critics, Richards set tasks for critical analysis that were precisely defined.¹⁹ According to Richards, even the greatest critics—Aristotle, Longinus, Horace, Dryden, Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Arnold—were culpable of platitudes. Richards offers several quotations as proof: ‘poetry is chiefly conversant about general truth,’ ‘the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling,’ ‘the eye on the object.’²⁰ Richards’s critical practice avoided the ‘empty garner’ of such clichés because they misdirected definitive evaluations of literary texts. If critics were ‘accustomed to say[ing] that a picture is beautiful,’ Richards offered in its place, ‘it causes an experience in us which is valuable in certain ways.’²¹ Richards continues: ‘the

remark “This is beautiful,” must be turned round and expanded in this way before it is anything but a mere noise signalling the fact that we approve of the picture.’²²

Richards’ disciplined aestheticism heavily influenced William Empson. Empson is best known for his exacting textual analysis, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930), which began as a paper for the English Tripos. But, whereas Richards avoided the ineffable, Empson sought it out: ambiguity ‘adds . . . nuance to the direct statement of purpose.’²³ A one time mathematician, Empson was also mindful of what he perceived to be literary-critical inadequacy in relation to the Sciences. Viewed as the ‘soft option’ by many, if English Studies was to continue, it needed to adopt more concrete methodologies. Though employing ‘the analytical mode of approach,’ Empson’s analysis did not revert to Philology.²⁴ Rather than tracing linguistic developments, Empson was concerned with descriptively aesthetic nuances of ‘meaning’ and ‘metaphor’ in ‘everything of literary importance.’²⁵

In 1932 and 1933 the Trinity academic, W.W. Greg, wrote two seminal essays, ‘Bibliography: An Apologia’ and ‘The Function of Bibliography in Literary Criticism’, which formulated a bibliographical response to the perceived inferiority of English Studies. For Greg, bibliography was the empirical branch of literary criticism. Though often considered ‘the Cinderella of literary science,’ bibliography was ‘at the same time the most fundamental.’²⁶ ‘Aesthetic and historical’ approaches had their use, but ‘a knowledge of the true text is the basis of all criticism.’²⁷ Greg made more of an overture to science than Richards had: by studying ‘books as material objects,’ bibliography could lay claim to being a ‘science.’²⁸

Richards and Empson had developed relatively sophisticated aesthetic positions and to build his reputation within the field, Leavis had to either develop such analysis even further, or introduce a position that was more empirically informed. In *Mass Civilisation*, Leavis chose the latter by illuminating the role market forces played in the production of literature. The Leavises should not be aligned with Greg, however. Indeed, while Greg resisted ethical imputations, the Leavises condemned large-scale economics. In doing so, the Leavises were able to generate a space for a restricted production press that promoted their cultural politics.

III. Drugs and 'Hope': Large-Scale and Restricted Production

The most influential indictment of the large-scale market in the 1930's was *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932). *Fiction* was an analysis of the development of the English reading public from its modest beginnings in the sixteenth century to its large-scale expansion in the twentieth century. Q.D.L. argued that because of the developments personified by Harmsworth, novel reading became a 'drug habit.' Instead of exhorting their readers, publishers catered to their demands. For Q.D.L., the means of distribution, in which fiction was either bought from a W.H. Smith train station book stall, borrowed from a lending library, or strewn among the detritus of a bazaar (instead of being purchased from a 'shop existing solely to sell books'), highlighted a transitory, commodified status rather than a venerated tradition.²⁹

Large-scale fiction, Q.D.L. argued, was consumed for entertainment; instead of shaping the human spirit, it passed the time. Q.D.L. found evidence for this in the sale of cheap editions by enterprising firms. Though such firms began by offering their readers

texts like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the necessity of selling 'hundreds of thousands' of books meant that ultimately the lowest common denominator determined the reading.³⁰ The effect of the 'increasing control by Big Business . . . is to destroy among the masses a desire to read anything which by the widest stretch could be included in the classification "literature".'³¹ Once an impetus to 'fine living,' fiction had been invaded by an economic strategy only concerned with the bottom line.

Having set out the dire present, Q.D.L. was quick to point out that there was a time when readers were not 'addicted' and when authors wrote in order to exhort the reader. The 'first English reading public,' which Q.D.L. located during the reign of Elizabeth, had much more than merely print to fill its time, including music—in the form of ballads—and drama. Recreational reading, Q.D.L. argued, played a relatively minor role in the life of an Elizabethan. Of course, in her desire to idealise the past, it is no coincidence that she began with Shakespeare's era. Not needing a 'regular supply of fiction to amuse them,' they turned to 'Marlowe's mighty line and the more subtle rhythms of his successors.'³² The elite who were marginalised by the popular entertainment in the twentieth century were, in the sixteenth century, the intended audience.

According to Q.D.L., the fiction that did exist was based on a rich social intercourse; there was 'no poverty of emotional life needing fantasy to flourish it, no relief in vicarious living.'³³ Such fiction was hardly remunerative and though Elizabethan writers starved, their audience was safe: 'the typical Elizabethan journalist "contended with the colde and conversed with scarcitie", as Nashe wrote of himself, was imprisoned for debt and died destitute. It was in a later age that the journalist learned

how to grow prosperous at the expense of culture.’³⁴ Indeed, reiterating the conditions of restricted production, Q.D.L.’s ideal writer starves for their art; to prosper financially, meant that one was following their audience rather than exhorting them.

Near the end of the eighteenth century, novels dramatically increased in number. The growing readership created an ‘insatiable’ demand for fiction that was quickly distributed by the emerging circulating libraries. Books were consumed with such rapidity that the ‘second rate’ took the place of critically recognised novels.³⁵ Though Austen was able to resist the trend, according to Q.D.L., a simplistic formulaism became the norm for the most popular novels. Scott, for example, ‘dared not refuse to give the public what it wanted Nothing is more obvious than that he was bored with his central characters, his plot and situations.’³⁶ Dickens is treated even harsher. Condemned for serialisation, ‘He discovered . . . the formula “laughter and tears” that has been the foundation of practically every popular success ever since (Hollywood’s as well as the best-sellers).’³⁷

Q.D.L. argues that in the early nineteenth century a minority of readers maintained the power to define what constituted literature, as the high cost of production prevented large sections of the potential reading population from purchasing books. But, by the 1840s, publishers and booksellers realised that if books were designed to be less expensive by making them from cheaper materials and in larger numbers, they would yield a larger return. In the expanding market, writing for an elite audience was not merely unprofitable, it was nearly impossible: now writers had to compromise their autonomy in order to survive. Upon arriving at the twentieth century, Q.D.L. asserted that ‘whereas in George Eliot’s time literature had paid, that is to say, a serious novelist

could make a handsome living without surrendering anything, by Conrad's it had ceased to do so.'³⁸

In what has been considered an attempt to disprove the pessimism of *Fiction*, J.M.S. Tompkins demonstrated in *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800* (1932) that, in the late eighteenth century, 'the two chief facts about the novel are its popularity as a form of entertainment and its inferiority as a form of art.'³⁹ In fact, rather than the twentieth century being a low point for the production and distribution of fiction, compared to the late eighteenth century, it was far better—even by Q.D.L.'s standards. In London, poorly stocked book shops could hardly compete with the abundant circulating libraries, and outside of London there was no competition at all. Filled with what Tompkins describes as 'bastard products,' the circulating libraries sold novels about scandals and fictitious biographies of actresses and prostitutes.⁴⁰ The booksellers, much more so than their twentieth century counterparts, took incredible liberties with their readers. These included issuing old books with new title pages, faking the number of editions in order to increase the book's notoriety, and reissuing books that did not sell with a different title in the hopes that it would attract more readers.

Q.D.L.'s belief that the bulk of the eighteenth century reading public was relatively ubiquitous, with critics guiding a public through a small set of novels, has also come under attack. In *The English Novel in the Magazines: 1740-1815* (1962), Robert Mayo demonstrated that a great deal of the fiction consumed by the eighteenth century reader was in fact published in magazines, each specialised for a particular audience. One should not

oversimplify the eighteenth century 'reading public.' To a considerable degree it defies analysis. There were both vertical and horizontal lines of separation between readers that greatly complicate the picture of the general audience—which was monolithic in size but not in character. The various types of magazines are themselves testimony to the heterogeneity of the public taste, and the appeals to readers interests and prejudices, sometimes within the same periodical, were extremely diversified, if not contradictory. The picture which emerges from this survey is one that seriously qualifies the elegiac view of the eighteenth-century common reader.⁴¹

In short, Q.D.L. had conceived a convenient picture that left a great deal of fiction unaccounted. After examining such fiction in detail, Mayo finds sufficient evidence to conclude:

This fiction reveals anything but a homogenous literary culture, dominated by the best poets, essayists, novelists, and critics. Rather it exhibits in abundance those very qualities of day-dream, poverty of feeling, and separation from life as known to its readers that are usually laid at the door of the modern novelist.⁴²

The Strategy of Restricted Production

However problematic its historical argument, Leavisism enjoyed a wide influence within academic literary criticism. If things were once better, the present situation becomes that much more destitute for the reader. But the Leavises were careful not to go too far and offered a hope that the present could be changed. The form this hope initially took was the Minority Press. Because of the Press, the Leavises were able

to initiate a quasi-political resistance to 'mass civilisation' that encouraged the accumulation of prestige and prepared an audience for *Scrutiny*.

The Leavises occupied a fine line between doom and hope. While the doom was not so ominous as to negate resistance, salvation was not so likely as to facilitate indolence. Though the *Scrutiny* movement had not yet been conceived of by the time of *Mass Civilisation*, Leavis's hope, however vague, was conspicuously politicised:

Ridiculous, priggish and presumptuous as it may be, if we care at all about the issues we cannot help believing that, for the immediate future, at any rate, we have some responsibility. We cannot help clinging to some such hope . . . that what we value most matters too much to the race to be finally abandoned, and that the machine will yet be made a tool.⁴³

With the publication of *Fiction* two years later, not only does the uncertainty disappear, the political rhetoric becomes associated with restricted production:

One after another the serious politico-literary periodicals have disappeared or lowered their colours, and there is scarcely one left whose liberty of speech has not been sold to the advertiser or mortgaged to vested interests. They must pay their way, in a world in which the free exercise of the intelligence grows more and more unpopular. Similarly with publishing: if anything is to be done, it must be by way of pamphlets and publications by a private Press with a conscious critical policy. It is gratifying at this point to be able to name The Minority Press, and there is no reason why the university public should not produce and support such a periodical as the *Calendar* (so soon defunct) but without being restricted like the *Calendar* to

literary criticism. The minority would look to such activities as these to register and sum up progress, to assist in creating awareness, and to provide organization. Such a hope may seem extravagant. But if anything is done, it will be in this way. If this way offers no hope, then there is none.⁴⁴

While today Q.D.L.'s conclusion may seem melodramatic, it was published just before the *Scrutiny* launch, and was intended to rally younger readers. Upon the immediate publication of *Fiction*, this audience was little more than imagined, but could, Q.D.L. believed, form an influential lobby: 'For though the fully-formed-and-set when forced to face the findings of such a study as the present one are for the most part merely paralysed or take refuge in anger or cynicism (or optimism), yet experience shows that when the young are made aware of these forces they readily see the need for resisting.'⁴⁵ Given a lack of evidence, it is hard to know with certainty the age of the group that did form immediately after the 1932 publication of *Fiction*, but it is likely that they would have primarily been University students, later expanding to include secondary students. By relying on this lobby to proselytise, the agency often associated with the Leavises was less than total. Without student support (particularly in education as we will later see), Leavisism would never have had the influence it did, not least in the case of the student-owned Minority Press, which published *Mass Civilisation*.

For Q.D.L., the Minority Press was a shining example of what a restricted production press could accomplish. Successfully publishing 'pamphlets which without any publicity have paid their way,' it resisted the vulgarities of advertising without losing money.⁴⁶ As a Minority Press pamphlet, the anti-market positions espoused in *Mass Civilisation* were coherent with their material production. Judging by their

appearance alone, the Minority pamphlets projected an extreme economic disinterest, which meant that not only did the titles on offer fail to indulge the tastes of a larger readership, but that a seemingly minor detail such as the colophon—a formalised sprouting bean seed, a symbol of organic life—designed by the architect Raymond McGrath, was intended for a limited audience that would find such images compelling rather than confusing. Note also the inclusion of ‘at Cambridge English,’ explicitly identifying the press with Cambridge school, and by implication, the sub-field of academic literary criticism.

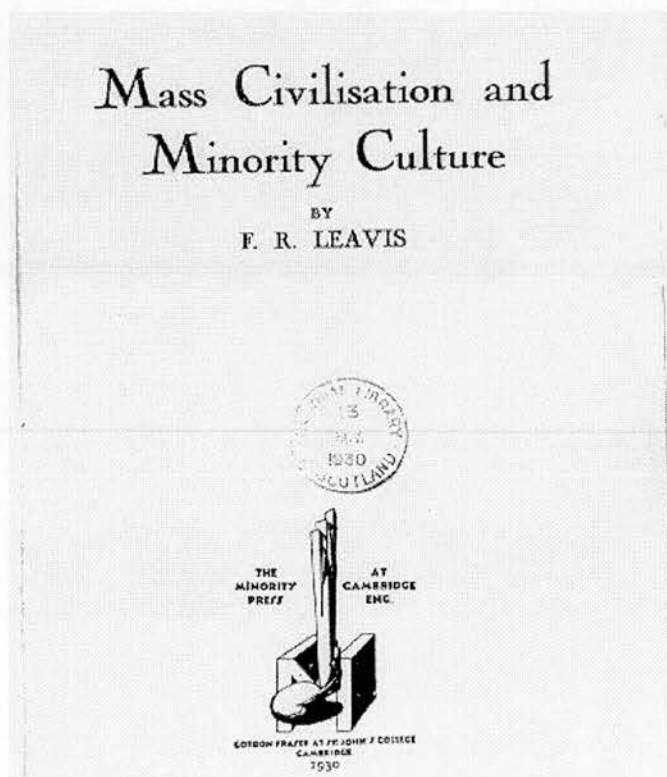


Figure 2.1: Title page for *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture* (1930).

Other details such as the plain paper bindings of the pamphlets point not only to a puritan design but also to the pamphlet's immediacy. Unlike the longevity implied by the hardback form that a more established *Mass Civilisation* eventually assumed when reprinted by Chatto and Windus in 1943, its initial appearance as a pamphlet parallels Leavis's urgent concern with what he was later to call the rapidly approaching 'end of western civilisation.'⁴⁷

The proprietor of the press, Gordon Fraser, was a nineteen-year-old student of Leavis's who had used his father's money to establish it. Of course, for a press to remain solvent, let alone solicit successful authors, it must do more than break even. Fraser's father, a copper industrialist, was able to provide finances that allowed the minority to remove itself from economic processes. Coupled with a bookstore of Fraser's nicknamed the Minority Bookshop, it became possible to ensure that the distribution of the pamphlets (so important to the Leavises) was above-board as well. Although the relationship with Fraser allowed the Leavises to distance themselves from conventional publicity techniques, the Press was still subject to market forces, and Fraser often found himself short of cash to pay the printers.⁴⁸

IV. The Definition of Culture

If the movement was to have an impact beyond a student population, the pessimistic analysis of market structures needed to be integrated into a critical idiom recognised by other producers within academic literary criticism. The most expedient means of achieving this was to poach key categories from Matthew Arnold who, as a constant point of reference for many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century literary

critics, would automatically guarantee Leavis a higher profile within the field. Arnold's death in 1888 was by no means the end of his influence as men of letters like Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde, Saintsbury, Quiller-Couch, and T.S. Eliot defined their positions with regard to Arnold's own. Though synthesised and interpolated, Leavis's position is likewise informed by fundamentally Arnoldian categories: culture in opposition to the 'mechanical,' a minority emulating cultural values, and criticism as an agent in the generation and preservation of literature.

For Arnold, 'culture,' was 'a study of perfection' that encouraged a moral 'passion for doing good,' thereby restraining the extreme individualism of 'every man for himself,' which, unchecked, would lead to anarchy.⁴⁹ An abstraction, culture is not necessarily actualised in art, literature, or music.⁵⁰ Culture, rather, is manifested primarily in terms of human virtues. The function of culture is 'particularly important in [the] modern world, of which the whole civilisation is . . . mechanical and external and tends constantly to become more so.'⁵¹ If society is becoming external, culture, as the 'idea of perfection as an *inward* condition of the mind and spirit is at variance with the mechanical and material civilisation in esteem with us.'⁵² 'Mechanical' does not specifically refer to the mechanisation and industrialisation of Victorian society, but the comprehensive externalisation and systematisation that had swallowed up social ideologies, practices, and materials. From Arnold's point of view, culture is an *agent provocateur*, which 'looks beyond machinery' and interrupts entrenched social conceptions, particularly hierarchical class distinctions of 'aristocratic', 'middle class', and 'working class'.⁵³ Rather, a class is redefined by how it resists culture. The aristocracy, by asserting its personal liberty, was 'Barbarian' and had its own opinion

about culture and could not tolerate modernity. For the middle class, the word '*Philistine*' gives the notion of something particularly stiff-necked and perverse in the resistance to light and its children; and therein especially suits our middle class, who not only do not pursue sweetness and light but even prefer to them that sort of machinery of business, chapels, tea-meetings.'⁵⁴ To Arnold, the working class seemed incapable of practising culture at all and he arrives at the term 'Populace', based on the perception that they lacked the inner life necessary for culture.

If all three classes are inherently hostile to culture, Arnold has not done much more than create his own mechanics of class. But, not all class members rigidly defy culture: 'when we speak of ourselves as divided into Barbarians, Philistines, and Populace, we must be understood to imply that within each of these classes there are a certain number of *aliens*, if we may so call them, —persons who are mainly led, not by their class spirit, but by a general humane spirit.'⁵⁵ Crucially, aliens do not, as one might expect, occupy a position of superiority. Rather, culture allows them to achieve a classless, democratised position.

It is not only this minority that sustains culture in a hostile and divided environment, but also the great critics, the 'apostles of equality,' who diminish class distinctions by 'carrying from one end of society to another, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time.'⁵⁶ In Arnold's conception, the critic is a democratiser, who assimilates knowledge that was 'difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive,' and humanises it, making it 'efficient outside of the clique of the cultivated and learned,' even, as he would argue elsewhere, providing an intellectual space in which it can flourish.⁵⁷ Crucially, it was the business of the critic to 'make an intellectual situation of

which the creative power can profitably avail itself. It tends to establish an order of ideas, if not absolutely true, yet true with comparison with that which it displaces.’⁵⁸ As these ideas reach society, ‘there is a stir and growth everywhere,’ which, when literary genius is also present, produces a ‘creative epoch’ of literature.⁵⁹

A ‘New’ Position

Academic literary criticism was a new development in the literary field, but it was made possible by previous critical positions, not least of which was Arnold’s concept of culture, that, as we saw with Newbolt, gave English Studies a powerful justification for existence. As Bourdieu observes, new positions must necessarily follow from previous ones: ‘It is certain that the direction of change depends on the state of the system of possibilities . . . that is offered by history and that determines what is possible and impossible at a given moment within a particular field.’⁶⁰ Despite Arnold’s role in generating a space for academic literary criticism, the sub-field as a whole had not absorbed Arnold to the same degree that the men of letters had. Leavis’s importation of Arnold into academic literary discourse revealed a complex relationship with the sub-field. Though Leavis never left Cambridge and aligned the Minority Press with the English School, he also went to great pains to project himself as an ‘outlaw’, even at Cambridge. While much later in his career, he saw the universities contributing to a ‘technologico-benthamite’ culture, presently he saw the role of the public intellectual, the man of letters, as a critical guide to an informed public, as having been usurped by mass culture. Importing Arnold was the first step in bringing the role of the public intellectual into the educational system.

While Bourdieu is right to argue that possible positions within the field are determined by the field's history, he insists on a contemporaneity that would seem to exclude the continual presence of Arnoldian discourse in literary criticism. For Bourdieu, the field's temporality is 'created' by

the battle between those who have made their names . . . and are struggling to stay in view and those who cannot make their own names without relegating to the past the established figures, whose interest lies in freezing the moment of time, fixing the present state of the field for ever. On the one side are the dominant figures, who want continuity, identity, reproduction; on the other, the newcomers, who seek discontinuity, rupture, difference, revolution As the newcomers come into existence, i.e. accede to legitimate difference, or even, for a certain time, exclusive legitimacy, they necessarily push back into the past the consecrated producers with whom they are compared To bring a new producer, a new product and a new system of tastes . . . at a given moment is to push the whole set of producers, products, and systems of taste into the past.⁶¹

In the case of literary critics, to be 'pushed back into the past' implies an ever increasing irrelevance and distance once the 'consecrated' have been overcome by 'newcomers'. Taken alone, this process doesn't explain Arnold's perennial re-appearance as a point of reference, whether as a foil or an influence. In the majority of cases Bourdieu's formulation seems to obtain (Saintsbury is a good example this), but it fails to account for what Foucault calls 'initiators of discursive practices': those writers like Marx and Freud (and, as I would argue in the case of literary criticism, Arnold) who have 'not only

made possible a certain number of analogies that could be adopted by future texts, but, as importantly, they also [make] possible a certain number of differences.'⁶² Strictly speaking, Foucault does not argue for a field in the same way that Bourdieu does. However, the notion that some authors (however few) initiate discursive positions and practices that continue to inform later generations can be profitably applied to field dynamics.

'Something More'

The fact that Arnold's concepts continued to structure critical possibilities is demonstrated by the lengths to which Leavis went to distinguish his position from Arnold's. Leavis begins *Mass Civilisation* by ingratiating himself within Arnold's argument and then quickly asserts its contemporary irrelevance. According to Leavis, the reader unfamiliar with the term 'culture' should of course be referred to *Culture and Anarchy*, but in the age of mass civilisation 'something more is required':

For Matthew Arnold, it was in some ways less difficult. I am not thinking of the so much more desperate plight of culture to-day, but (it is not, at bottom an unrelated consideration) of the freedom with which he could use such phrases as 'the will of God' and 'our true selves.' To-day one must face problems of definition and formulation where Arnold could pass lightly on.⁶³

Though Arnold figures largely, Leavis argued that historical changes meant Arnold's categories needed to be modified. In *Mass Civilisation*, the anarchy Arnold feared is seen to occur, not in a violent overthrow, however, but in an overturning of cultural values determined by a 'minority'; this formulation was made possible, in part, by another initiator of discourse, Friedrich Nietzsche.

In *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887; English trans. 1910), Nietzsche sets the individual against the ‘slave morality’ of the masses: a not dissimilar concept in Leavis’s social theorisations. Leavis was also influenced by Nietzsche’s intellectual progeny, Oswald Spengler, who, in line with Nietzsche’s sense of impending cataclysm, asserted that western Europe had ripened to its limit. In *The Decline of the West* (1922; English trans. 1926), Spengler argued that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had exhausted their imaginative possibilities both culturally and politically and were, hence, in a process of inevitable deterioration. Published in the aftermath of World War I, *The Decline of the West* resonated with a European audience that saw little reason for optimism.

Likewise, in *The Dehumanization of Art* (1925), Jòse Ortega y Gasset takes an overtly Nietzschean view of the future of art, explaining why ‘modern art’ is ‘anti-popular’:

When a man dislikes a work of art, but understands it, he feels superior to it; and there is no reason for indignation. But when his dislike is due to his failure to understand, he feels vaguely humiliated and this rankling sense of inferiority must be counterbalanced by indignant self-assertion. Through its mere presence, the art of the young compels the average citizen to realize that he is just this—the average citizen On the other hand, the new art also helps the elite to recognize themselves and one another in the drab mass of society and to learn their mission which consists in being few and holding their own against the many.⁶⁴

For Ortega y Gasset, the unpopularity of modern art was a will to power, a means to asserting individual superiority and mastery over the masses. Yet, as George Gissing would realise decades before Leavis, in *New Grub Street* (1891), the symbolic capital associated with such productions often fails to be transformed into economic profit. In part a novel about writers whose distance from the market eventually leads to their demise, economics is the driving force in Gissing's *Grub Street*. In such an environment the only survivor is the unprincipled Jasper Milivan, 'the literary man of 1882,' who realises that 'literature nowadays is a trade.'⁶⁵ It is against this dystopic background that Leavis re-orientes Arnold's categories: giving more weight to one aspect while collapsing another, moving in a direction implied (though not espoused) by Arnold, using a similar grammar, but with a different import.

Arnold went to pains to construct 'culture' abstrusely in terms of human virtues, but Leavis defined it pragmatically as literature. Though Leavis in part might be understood to pursue Arnold's elusiveness by defining culture as 'the language, the changing idiom, upon which fine living depends,' there was to be no mistake: literature was *the* record of culture.⁶⁶ The two are such close correlates that the evidence of a cultured individual was the capability not only of 'appreciating Dante, Shakespeare, Donne, Baudelaire, Hardy, (to take major instances) but also of recognising their latest successors.'⁶⁷ Though Arnold would make literature a function of culture in that it promoted human virtue, Leavis collapses the association, such that literature becomes a tangible register of a spiritual condition upon which 'the finest human experience of the past' depended for preservation.⁶⁸ By limiting 'culture', Leavis also alters the role of criticism. Arnold had charged criticism with the woolly task of making 'an intellectual

situation' that would be favourable to literary genius, but Arnold never established what this meant pragmatically and even how (or if) it related to his concept of culture. In fact, Arnold argues the opposite: 'Criticism must maintain its independence of the practical spirit.'⁶⁹ But Leavis had no such reservations. Literature was culture and culture preserved the finest human experience, therefore, by ordering a space for the artist to produce literature (for Leavis this meant reducing the poetic and fictional canon as he did in *New Bearings* and *Revaluation*), the critic was at the same time effecting a moral transformation. Leavis continued this reduction when he turned Arnold's 'mechanical' into 'the machine.'

Side-stepping Arnold's conception of systematisation, Leavis uses him to denote the historical development of mechanised society by quoting from *Culture and Anarchy* out of context: 'the whole civilisation is, to a much greater degree than the civilisation of Greece and Rome, mechanical and external, and tends constantly to become more so.'⁷⁰ It is worth noting that the quote is an epigraph and therefore foregrounds the entire pamphlet in terms of having things 'more difficult' than Arnold. If, in Victorian England, society was becoming more mechanical, by the time of the pamphlet's publication in 1930 the machine was undoubtedly 'triumphant.'⁷¹ Using R.S. Lynd's *Middletown* (1929) to demonstrate the disastrous effects of the machine, Leavis recounts how 'the automobile . . . has in a few years, radically affected religion, broken up the family, and revolutionised social custom. Change has been so catastrophic that the generations find it hard to adjust themselves to each other, and parents are helpless to deal with their children.'⁷² In Leavisite discourse, the machine is a symbol of the larger process of standardisation that had seen a bucolic, organic world transformed into one

where the material replaced the spiritual, the general replaced the specific, and 'improvisation' had replaced tradition. Exposing what was lost, Leavis writes: 'improvisation can hardly replace the delicate traditional adjustments, the mature, inherited codes of habit and valuation.'⁷³ It was this loss of continuity that threatens: 'what has been inadvertently dropped may be unrecoverable or forgotten.'⁷⁴

The Press and the Minority

The culture, which, in an Arnoldian order, should have resisted standardisation, was made impotent by it. In order to demonstrate this, Leavis narrowed his focus to the publishing industry that he argued exemplified 'levelling down'. 'Levelling down' was the process by which publishers of newspapers and fiction appealed to the 'unintelligent many' rather than the 'intelligent few,' and showed the 'best people that they wanted the same as the rest.'⁷⁵ Translated into terms of the literary field, standardisation is the gradual reordering of the whole of cultural production according to large-scale principles. As a constituent of restricted production, Leavis had a vested interest in defending autonomy from being undermined by the large-scale market.

In a re-working of Arnold's thought, the contemporary problem for Leavis was not that classes were bound to a particular category, but that developments in the publishing industry brought all classes down to the lowest common denominator. As he quotes from Hamilton Fyfe's biography of Northcliffe: 'the Best people did read the *Daily Mail*. It was now seen in the first-class railway compartments as much as in third-class. It had made its way from the kitchen and the butler's pantry of the big country house up to the hall table.'⁷⁶ Although in this instance, Leavis is invoking class differences, he quickly sets this aside in his promotion of an aesthetic elitism. For

Leavis, cultural production had always relied on a 'minority' to 'keep alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of the tradition. Upon them depend the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age, the sense that this is worth more than that, this rather than that is the direction in which to go, that the centre is here rather than there.'⁷⁷

Though one should not assume a one-to-one correlation between the minority and restricted producers (as minority members are not necessarily writers), there is a striking similarity between what Leavis associates with the function of the minority, and what Bourdieu recognises as the capacity of the sub-field of restricted production to legitimate definitions of what constitutes literature.

The 'minority' once operated from a position of superiority that, according to Leavis, had been totally usurped with the advent of mass culture. 'Minority' now designated individuals who felt that culture was important and even performed a moral function, but were diffuse and disorganised. If, in the past, the minority had legitimated cultural production, in the thirties its members were 'exposed to a concourse of signals so bewildering in their variety and number that, unless especially gifted or especially favoured, [they] can hardly begin to discriminate.'⁷⁸

One indication of the field's re-ordering was the conflation of 'great' and mediocre literature. Leavis finds evidence for this in the prefaces of popular editions of modern poetry. For example, in *Twentieth Century Poetry: An Anthology*, Harold Monro writes: 'There are so many [poets] that, a century hence, they may appear a kind of Composite poet; there may be 500 excellent poems proceeding from 100 poets mostly not so great, but well worth remembering a century hence.'⁷⁹ Exacerbating this lack of direction was the demise of economically disinterested public intellectuals. Aside from

reducing a public capable of appreciating more literary works, standardisation, according to Leavis, had forced literary critics to either sell-out to the tastes of the large-scale market or lose readers.

The critics who were able to find a public were no longer the Thomas Carlyles and Matthew Arnolds, but, rather, the critically ignorant Arnold Bennetts, who wrote for the equally ignorant masses. While in Leavis's thesis, Bennett was used as an authority, he now became a foil. As a well known fiction writer and critic, Bennett was the ideal target for a producer establishing a position. In 1931, the same year Bennett died, Leavis wrote to Ian Parsons, his editor at Chatto and Windus: 'I'm glad you liked my pamphlet—I was lucky to get it in before Bennett died. I had contemplated a whole pamphlet for him as Enoch Arnold Babbitt, but I decided that the subtler approach was better. It's a shame he died on you.'⁸⁰

If *Mass Civilisation* went easy on Bennett, one can imagine the severity Leavis had in mind. Leavis's 'subtler approach' condemned Bennett as a cause and embodiment of critical deterioration: 'to compute how many bad books a year, on the average, Mr. Bennett has turned into literature would hardly be worth the labour.'⁸¹ Couched in a friendly, broadly consumable style, Bennett's judgements were anathema to Leavis. In his judgement, the critic who had tried to help the masses form literary taste had abandoned the minority. Leavis's disgust with a writer who can be seen as one of Arnold's 'apostles of equality,' shows how much Leavis diverges from Arnold. Bennett's judgements are so 'ominous' that Leavis takes the trouble to list them for several pages. After noting Bennett's comparison of Joyce and Lawrence with a now unknown author, R.H. Mottram, Leavis asks 'how is it that he can go on exposing

himself . . . without becoming a by-word and a laughing stock?’⁸² Perhaps, but as critics often promote authors that fail to be remembered—even Leavis himself did—his astonishment can be seen as rhetorical hyperbole intended to challenge a well known writer.⁸³

Such treatment was perhaps a reaction to the way in which Bennett’s texts structured Leavis’s own position. Whereas Leavis asserts that literature is crucial for ‘fine living,’ in *Literary Taste: How to Form It* (1910), Bennett had already written that literature is:

the fundamental *sine qua non* of complete living . . . I do not think I am guilty of [exaggeration] in asserting that he who has not been ‘presented to the freedom’ of literature has not wakened up out of his prenatal sleep. He is merely not born. He can’t see; he can’t hear; he can’t feel, in any full sense. He can only eat his dinner.⁸⁴

Furthermore, Bennett asserted well before Leavis that the veneration of literary genius ‘is entirely independent of the majority . . . [I]t is by the passionate few that the renown of genius is kept alive from one generation to another.’⁸⁵ In effect, when Leavis argued in *Mass Civilisation* that ‘culture has always been in minority keeping,’ he was pursuing a vocabulary already coined by Bennett.⁸⁶ Bennett writes:

A classic is a work which gives pleasure to the *minority* which is intensely and permanently interested in literature. It lives on because the minority, eager to renew the sensation of pleasure, is eternally curious and is therefore engaged in an eternal process of rediscovery . . . It does not survive because it conforms to certain canons, or because neglect would not kill it. It survives

because it is a source of pleasure and because the passionate few can no more neglect it than a bee can neglect a flower.⁸⁷

According to Bennett, literature survives only because a 'minority' sustains it; it can be 'killed' when they 'neglect' it. Keeping in mind Bennett's economic theorisation of literature discussed in the previous chapter, Leavis's conception of a minority culture endangered by standardisation can be seen in part as a synthesis of Bennett's own concepts.

Guiding public taste in the absence of informed critics were the book clubs, which, as Leavis laments, promoted a diluted offering of readily accessible reading. Leavis quotes from one ominous advertisement:

Of the thousands of books published every year—there are between 12,000 and 14,000—how on earth is the ordinary person to sift the sheep from the goats? Distinguished critics attempt to guide the public, but they are often so hopelessly 'high brow' and 'precious,' and simply add to the general confusion and bewilderment.⁸⁸

The clubs' position in the field was obvious for Leavis. They offered themselves as organisations that catered for the 'ordinary intelligent reader, not for the highbrows—an organisation which would realise that a book can have a good story and a popular appeal and yet be good literature.'⁸⁹ According to Leavis, the effect of selecting books based on intellectual accessibility was pernicious as it trained readers to consume only certain books, thereby marginalising more autonomous productions.

As Leavis points out, '*The Waste Land*, *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, *Ulysses* . . . are read only by a very small specialised public and are beyond the reach of the vast

majority of those who consider themselves to be educated.’⁹⁰ Imposing a distance between the reader and the techniques of the artist by utilising forms, allusions, and languages unfamiliar to many readers of the time, *The Waste Land* was an obviously avant-garde production.⁹¹ An individual reading *The Waste Land* would not only need to be proficient in Latin, Greek, Italian, German, and French, and be very familiar with the literatures of each language, but also be capable of understanding Eliot’s use of fragmentary allusions totally at odds with anything that the large-scale readership had ever come across before.

Leavis’s emphasis on ‘the specialist public’ is complemented by an awareness of the avant-garde. He argues that in an age where the lowest common denominator determines literary production, elitist practices are bound to be condemned. He finds evidence of this in the ‘ominous’ addition of ‘highbrow’ to literary discussions. The general currency of ‘highbrow’ indicated that the minority which had occupied a position of power and influence in literary production were ‘cut off as never before.’⁹² In Leavis’s conception, ‘highbrow’ is a pejorative term, an attempt by large-scale writers to discredit literature produced according to a different principle.

Leavis asserts that the dismissal of perplexing structures is what initiates restricted production: ‘The age in which the finest creative talents tend to be employed in works of this kind is the age that has given currency to the term “Highbrow.” But it would be as true to say that the attitude implicit in “highbrow” causes this use of talent as the converse.’⁹³ This is a concept that informs key Modernist texts. If avant-garde productions are indeed reactions against large-scale production, the forms that confused the early reviewers of *The Waste Land* can be read as Eliot’s attempt not only to separate

the poem from the common reader, but, in doing so, to stress their separation from the past literary tradition. Furthermore, in such a reading, the juxtaposition of classical allusions alongside popular culture serves to frame interpretations in terms of high and low, pure and perverse.

Of course, in *The Waste Land* such categories are by no means stable. In the 'A Game of Chess' section of *The Waste Land*, the juxtaposition of Shakespeare's line from *The Tempest*, 'Those are pearls that were his eyes (l 124)' above the ragtime lyrics 'O O O O that Shakespearean rag—/ It's so elegant/ So intelligent' (ll 128-30), inscribes a dynamic whereby Shakespeare becomes conflated with vaudeville so that high and low become inseparable. The instability of these categories reinforces Leavis's cultural argument, as the avant-garde can now be seen to highlight the disintegration of boundaries between both sub-fields.

V. Old Bearings: Poetry as Propaganda

With the publication of *New Bearings in English Poetry* in 1932, Eliot's poetry, in Leavis's hands, shifted from a symptom of cultural decline to an embodiment of cultural decline. In much the same way that the poaching of Arnold's categories increased Leavis's profile within academic literary criticism, the alignment with a major poetic figure was intended to help orient an audience according to his cultural politics. Leavis's uses of Arnold and Eliot both demonstrate a tactic of ingratiation. However, with Arnold, 'something more [was] required,' but Eliot was the 'new bearing': the contemporary standard by which the poetic tradition would be judged. The difference in tone is related to the timing: Arnold's arguments were well established, and so had to be

altered to suit Leavis's ends, whereas Eliot was comparatively uncharted—it was thus possible to claim that Eliot in fact supported (or even proved) Leavis's position.

Aside from a cursory investigation in which he names Hardy, Yeats, and de la Mare, the book considers only three poets: Eliot, Pound, and Hopkins. Significantly, of the three, Hopkins is the only poet who Leavis does not directly consider in terms of representing cultural loss. In his reading of *The Waste Land*, for example, Leavis was careful to begin by highlighting the vegetation cults and fertility rituals, 'which represent a harmony of human culture with the natural environment, and express an extreme sense of the unity of life.'⁹⁴ He then inscribed a dynamic whereby the ideal way of life is destroyed by contemporary realities:

In the modern Waste Land, 'April is the cruellest month, breeding/ Lilacs out of the dead land,' but bringing no quickening to the human spirit. Sex here is sterile, breeding not life and fulfilment but disgust, accidia, and unanswerable questions. It is not easy today to accept the perpetuation and multiplication of life as ultimate ends.⁹⁵

Leavis's insertion of 'modern' and 'today' into his reading of *The Waste Land* should not be overlooked. Leavis is essentially arguing that *The Waste Land* is a poetic version of contemporary cultural decline. Coupled with a semantic variation on Eliot's theory of impersonality, cultural decline becomes axiomatic. As Eliot is situated at 'the conscious point of his age,' it would be nearly impossible to 'imagine a completer transcendence of the individual self, a completer projection of awareness.'⁹⁶ In other words, the representation of decline in *The Waste Land* is the result of an impartial, poetic response:

an objective observation. But what begins as literary analysis soon becomes an overt cultural politics. The problem of comprehending Eliot's use of allusion is:

one of the symptoms of the state of culture that produced the poem. Works expressing the finest consciousness of the age in which the word 'high-brow' has become current are almost inevitably such as to appeal to only a tiny minority. It is still more serious that this minority should be more cut off from the world around it.⁹⁷

Eliot's major American interpreter, F.O. Matthiessen, sensed the ideology behind the interpretation and suggested that Leavis's appraisal of Eliot suffered 'from a certain over-intensity. [Leavis] seems to be writing continually on the defensive as though he were an apostle of modern art to an unappreciative world.'⁹⁸

The reading of *The Waste Land* as a poem of cultural decay has dominated academic literary criticism and only recently has its influence begun to diminish. From its publication in 1932, Leavis's exposition served to structure subsequent interpretations of the poem such as Cleanth Brooks's '*The Waste Land: Critique of the Myth*' (1939), which drew on so many similar themes that Leavis's influence is undeniable.⁹⁹ Until the 1960 publication of '*The Defeatism of The Waste Land*', by David Craig, the assumption of cultural collapse remained unchallenged. But even Craig's reading of *The Waste Land* was cast in terms of Leavis's argument: 'Dr. Leavis considers the experience in *The Waste Land* a self-evident, perfectly acceptable version of the world we and the poet live in. That is the assumption, and the pessimistic thought behind it, which I wish to challenge.'¹⁰⁰ However, for Craig, *The Waste Land* was ultimately an

'experience' of cultural pessimism (as it was for Leavis), and though Craig challenged it, it was *Eliot's* cultural pessimism that he attacked rather than Leavis's.

Though obviously indebted to Leavis, '*The Waste Land* as a Dramatic Monologue' (1983) by Anthony Easthope was perhaps the first major break with Leavis's reading. Easthope argued that the consensus established in the thirties about 'the meaning of the poem' as an impersonal, negative statement about culture was a consensus only.¹⁰¹ Easthope demonstrated the presence of a personal 'I' in the poem, not necessarily Eliot's own voice, or even Tiresias's, but a personality that organised the poem; not a detached poetic mind.¹⁰² Once impersonality was challenged, it followed that the poem was not the objective observation that Leavis held it up to be, but, as Eliot later admitted, 'a personal grouse against life.' Having dispatched impersonality, Easthope focused on a theme of sexual desire instead of Leavis's concern with cultural collapse.

One reason Leavis's reading dominated for so long was because of its intertextuality. Published a decade after *The Waste Land* (1922), *New Bearings* had a certain distance from the poem. Indeed, by that time, *The Waste Land* had been the subject of a large number of reviews. For example, the theme of contemporary cultural decline and 'spiritual drouth' had been discerned by Edmund Wilson in 1922 (in 1923, Harriet Monroe picked up on the similar theme of 'the world crumbling to pieces before our eyes'). Both Gilbert Seldes and John Crowe Ransom applied the principles of impersonality (in 1922 and 1923, respectively). Eliot's use of allusion had been examined by Edgell Rickword in 1923. Even Eliot's separation from the lay-reader was discussed by Gorham Munson in 1924.¹⁰³ Therefore, only two years after its publication,

the themes that were to become topics in endless academic analyses had already been established by Grub Street.

The interpretations Leavis left out give just as much insight into the establishment of his position on Eliot as the ones he incorporated. One review in the *Times Literary Supplement* (which Leavis would almost certainly have read), imagined the poem to reveal the 'mystery of life.' In the opinion of the anonymous reviewer, Eliot was capable of 'adequately and movingly reveal[ing] to us the inextricable tangle of the sordid and the beautiful that make up life. Life is neither hellish nor heavenly; it has a purgatorial quality. And since it is purgatory, deliverance is possible.'¹⁰⁴ For this reviewer, *The Waste Land* is imagined as a poem of hope, a 'complete expression' of the beauty of modern life.¹⁰⁵ Though it is a concept that today seems wholly inadequate, it is just as valid a reading as Leavis's given the right set of circumstances. As a review in the *TLS*, it was contemporary with the publication of the poem, which meant that critical opinion had not yet ossified.

At this stage, *The Waste Land* could have a variety of meanings. Though one knows only 'a heap of broken images, where the sun beats,/ And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,/ And the dry stone no sound of water,' (ll 22-33) '[t]here is shadow under this red rock' (l 25). Even if one grants to Leavis that the desert represents the aridity of modern existence, it is not the hell he imagines it to be if the shadow can be seen to represent hope. Indeed, in this instance the reviewer's conception of the poem as purgatorial seems much more likely; though contemporary life is 'sordid,' there is a hope.

Leavis's reading was reiterated by academic critics not only because of its intertextuality, but also because it had the backing of *Scrutiny*. Leavis took Eliot very seriously when Eliot wrote:

The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted.¹⁰⁶

For Leavis, Eliot's 'criticism and his poetry reinforce each other,' which meant that Eliot, as a poet of 'the really new,' should, according to his own criticism, have re-ordered the map of English poetry.¹⁰⁷ By 1932, however, this had failed to happen. It seemed that either Eliot's theory was wrong, or his poetry was not really new; these were possibilities that Leavis was unwilling to accept. If Eliot had not re-ordered the map, it was because the age he was writing in was bankrupt. In *New Bearings*—and in part in *Mass Civilisation*—Leavis set out to hack away the overgrowth distorting the new order he believed Eliot's poetry deserved; gone was Tennyson, Swinburne, and the Georgians. Leavis writes: 'It is mainly due to [Eliot] that no serious poet or critic today can fail to recognise that English poetry must develop (if at all) along some other line than that running from the Romantics through Tennyson, Swinburne, *A Shropshire Lad*, and Rupert Brooke. He has made a new start and established new bearings.'¹⁰⁸ Eliot's poetry, so Leavis perceived, had reoriented the poetic past in the direction of Yeats, de la Mare, and Hardy. As the 'new bearing,' Eliot was literally the standard by which

modern poetry must be judged. Furthermore, as Eliot's premier critic, Leavis stood to accrue a great deal of prestige. Of course, merely because Leavis indirectly asserted his dominance as such did not at all mean that others recognised him, particularly in the early thirties when he was little more than a newcomer to a sub-field populated by others. However, with the backing of a group of 'Scrutineers', Leavis was able to find an audience for his arguments in schools and universities.

Policing Poetry

With the support of *Scrutiny*, Leavis was able to enforce his critical vision of Eliot, which did lead to some problems. If Eliot was the 'new bearing', Leavis was that much more limited in whom he recognised as a developing poetic talent. In the epilogue to *New Bearings*, his devotion to Eliot compelled him to recognise the less critically acclaimed poet, Ronald Bottrall. Though his promotion of Bottrall now seems ludicrous, Leavis did stand to gain more than gratitude. In *New Bearings*, Leavis quotes the following lines:

We do not lack money for the Arts;
A fifty-shilling tailor will have an option
On them, or failing him someone
Who floods the market with cheap motor cars

The soul has precipices, slippery footholds. Fearful
To stand amid the whorled rocks and antres vast
We send our women substitutes to cull
A snippet of 'culture' in an easy grotto,
Thus content to bow the knee to a garbled past
And propitiate our superstitions by jangling
Votive cords and a bar or two of Chopin.
But perhaps our academic few
Have chosen overmuch to refute
Themselves.¹⁰⁹

Given that Bottrall was used as an expedient Eliot who blatantly gave homage to the conception of standardisation, his promotion and inclusion in the poetic tradition is easily explained. As Leavis writes of Bottrall: 'His world is Mr. Eliot's; a world in which the traditions are bankrupt, the cultures uprooted and withering, and the advance of civilisation seems to mean the death to distinction of spirit and fineness of living.'¹¹⁰ When considering *The Waste Land*, Leavis only implies that Eliot is writing about contemporary cultural ruin (note that his most overt reference is by referring to *The Waste Land* as the 'modern Waste Land'); his consideration of Bottrall allows him to equate his own views with Eliot's.

In this sense, Leavis's readings are repetitive and the same interpretation surfaces time and again. Leavis's approach to *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* is more self promoting than his reading of *The Waste Land*: 'It . . . has a representative value, reflecting as it does the miscellaneousness of modern culture, the absence of direction, of an alphabet of forms, or of any one predominant idiom; the uncongeniality of the modern world to the artist; and his dubious status there.'¹¹¹ However, as he later argued in his famous essay, 'Criticism and Philosophy,' the critic should not approach any poem with an agenda, but should attempt to possess the poem with 'a completer responsiveness—a kind of responsiveness that is incompatible with the judicial, one-eye-on-the-standard approach.'¹¹² Yet, it is apparent that Leavis had a standard—Eliot—and a dogma that determined interpretation.

As Bourdieu recognises, once a producer has become consecrated, it is in his or her best interest to reject any challenge to his or her authority. For Leavis, who had in part founded his authority on Eliot's pre-eminence, this meant the rejection of any new

poetic talent. Leavis followed this logic ruthlessly. Auden, who was more 'sophisticated' than 'mature,' was not the only poet that Leavis dismissed. Others included Stephen Spender, Day Lewis, and even Dylan Thomas. Oddly, *Scrutiny* completely ignored American poets other than Pound and Eliot; William Carlos Williams was never written about, neither was Marianne Moore, and Wallace Stephens was only given a cursory glance. Auden is even criticised in *Scrutiny* for being too much like Eliot and, ironically, for not being enough like him.¹¹³ However, the reason Auden was criticised was because Leavis felt he took the critical focus away from Eliot. For example, when considering one review of Auden's *The Age of Anxiety* (1948), Leavis complains:

The critic himself doesn't actually say, as acclaimers of that Poetic Renaissance in which Mr. Auden played the leading part did, that Auden superseded Eliot, but his commentary may fairly be said to be in resonance with that view As a matter of fact, we are left in doubt whether the critic considers Mr. Eliot really a major poet.¹¹⁴

Scrutiny's eventual prominence had provided Leavis with the power to consecrate new poets (which, as Bottrall's failure demonstrates, was far from total), but a continual weeding out of unfit poets had contributed to the choking out of any possible development. Writing in 1932, Eliot himself was aware of the problems of 'incinerat[ing] a vast quantity of rubbish, and clear[ing] the fields for fresh planting, I cannot see any likelihood that either revolution or reform will improve the quality of the produce.'¹¹⁵ Eliot knew that a strict standard would not necessarily benefit poetic production. Though, it must be recognised that Leavis's reduction was intended to have the opposite effect on new talent. In a retrospect included in Chatto's 1950 reissue of

New Bearings, Leavis writes: 'Mr. Eliot had made other poets possible, that was certainly my theme.'¹¹⁶ Eliot had cleared the way, unsettling boundaries, ideally setting the stage in the 1930s for a 'poetic renaissance,' but, twenty years later, no poets of note had surfaced and 'the history of English poetry since then has been depressing in the extreme.'¹¹⁷ When asked what had happened to the explosion of talent that he had predicted, Leavis replied: 'All I could find to say was: "Yeats has died, and Eliot has gone on."'¹¹⁸ A couple of pages later, however, he names the culprit. The dearth of talented poets was in fact the result of:

the conditions that, in our time, work against the maturation and development of any young talent. They may be seen, simply, as the failure of the function of criticism, though that, of course, is only one aspect of a very large and complex fact. This may be seen, again, as the disintegration of the educated reading public. It is only in such a public that critical standards have their effective existence But where no such public exists to be appealed to, the critic's unpopular judgements, even if he can get them printed, remain mere arbitrary assertions and offensive attitudes.¹¹⁹

It was not because his 'critical standards' were too limiting, but because they were not followed. Yet, by 1950, Leavis had undeniably succeeded in the terms he set out. His 'unpopular' judgements were, in fact, held to be true at the very least by his audience; Leavis writes with conviction of how his dismissal of the major poets after Eliot was 'enforced' by *Scrutiny*.¹²⁰ By 1950, he had published over ten books of criticism, many of which had gone through several reprints, and had run a critical journal for almost twenty years that had 'always paid its way.'¹²¹ Malcolm Bradbury writes how Leavis

helped to 'enfranchise a much more provincial audience for literature.'¹²² Bradbury was right. Leavis had succeeded in making a wide audience aware of his critical positions. In 1951, J. Isaacs noted in a B.B.C. Third Programme lecture series on Modern Poetry: 'It is a common complaint that modern poets know nothing of English poetry beyond what Mr. Eliot has taught them or Mr. Leavis has tried to teach them.'¹²³ Though perhaps antagonistic, the fact that Isaacs could make reference to Leavis on the B.B.C. without explanation indicates the dominance of Leavis's position in the sub-field. While, strangely, he does not give credit to Leavis, Isaacs is certainly influenced by him when he writes: 'If we are going to ask who are the younger poets, the answer must be: Mr. Eliot.'¹²⁴ If poetic development had indeed been limited, it was the eventual success of Leavis's position in academic literary criticism that had made it so.

CHAPTER THREE

‘Against the Market’: *Scrutiny* and Modernism

Introduction: *Scrutiny* and the Sub-Field of Literary Magazines

Despite claims to the contrary, Leavisism was an unbridled success that compelled a following, which identified itself as the ‘minority,’ and was eventually promulgated in schools and universities. As Chapter Two demonstrates, the various components of Leavisism had been around for some time, and the predominance that it enjoyed was not an outcome of a critical revelation, but the outcome of a journal devoted to its promotion and practical application. Indeed, *Scrutiny* was the primary vehicle by which the Leavises accumulated symbolic capital. Without *Scrutiny* it is unlikely that the name Leavis would have signified little more than an embattled Cambridge don, not least because his best-selling critical works were either generated from *Scrutiny* articles packaged in a different paratext and because *Scrutiny* was at the centre of an educational movement. When examining the circumstances in which *Scrutiny* operated, one is therefore examining the circumstances which determined the production and implementation of Leavisism.

Though famous for being a ‘disinterested’, ‘outlaw’ journal, *Scrutiny* was in one sense as conventional as its creed: the position it occupied and the practices that made it so influential were structured from past and contemporary journals, which were taken as

examples to either modify or oppose; this intertextual phenomenon is often overlooked. When it is told, the story usually runs something along the following lines: in May 1932, *Scrutiny* emerged on the literary scene with a radical agenda to re-draft the English literary canon. With a small print run (700, later expanding to 1500), but a dedicated following, it advocated that fragile social traditions could be rescued from the worst effects of industrialisation if critical standards were allowed to cleanse the past and protect the present from bad writing. There are, of course, many variations on this narrative. Some, like Mulhern's *The Moment of Scrutiny*, focus on *Scrutiny*'s educational concerns; some focus on its anti-Marxist stance; others focus on a reductive canon.¹ Though often premised with a theoretical genealogy, analysis is almost always limited to *Scrutiny*'s life from 1932 to 1953 and—aside from the perfunctory qualification that the *Calendar of Modern Letters* had an influence—routinely distances *Scrutiny* from a sub-field of literary magazines.

Certainly Q.D.L. perceived literary magazines operating in a mutually related context. *Fiction and the Reading Public* saw her partitioning the magazines of the 1920s and the 1930s into two categories: those with large readerships and those with limited readerships. Magazines with a large readership like *John o' London's*, *The Listener*, and *Everyman*, 'all serve the same level of reading public, pass through innumerable hands in the reading-rooms of public libraries, and even then have in addition a vast body of inert support in the public which buys the large circulation dailies.'² Opposed to this class were the lower circulation literary magazines, each granted a different status according to its degree of distinction from the first class, including, *The London Mercury*, *The Criterion*, *The Adelphi*, and *The Calendar of Modern Letters*.

In her brief account of the positions held by literary magazines, the duality identified by Q.D.L. has remained largely ignored—a fact in part due, no doubt, to her often partisan rhetoric—but it is not without insight. Indeed, fifty years on, Bourdieu argues for the same division when asserting the differences between large scale and restricted production. One practice found throughout restricted production is the competition for symbolic capital circumscribed by a set of positions occupied by rival producers. At any given time, the reputation of a producer within restricted production is susceptible to change, particularly if they are from an older ‘artistic generation.’³ Were it up to this generation alone, art and literature would remain in a fixed state, as they ‘always tend to divert their authority to their own advantage and therefore to impose their own variant of the dominant world view as the only legitimate one.’⁴ Though only a few years may separate them, the difference ‘between the “young” and the “old”, the “neo” and the “paleo”, the “new” and the “outmoded,”’ is the difference between a challenger and a champion, or as Bourdieu would argue, ‘between cultural orthodoxy and heresy,’ and it is in this struggle that new developments within each particular field are generated.⁵ ‘To “make one’s name,”’ according to Bourdieu, ‘means making one’s *mark*, achieving recognition (in both senses) of one’s *difference* from other producers, especially the most consecrated of them; at the same time, it means *creating a new position* beyond the positions presently occupied, *ahead* of them.’⁶

But a radically new, wholly separated position is impossible, as new movements are limited by the possible positions in the field, already determined by the positions of established producers. Bourdieu writes:

The stakes of the struggle among the dominants and the pretenders, between orthodoxy and heresy, and the very content of the strategies they can put into effect to advance their interests, depend on the space of position-takings already brought about, and this . . . tends to define the space of possible position takings, and thus to shape the search for solutions and, consequently, the evolution of production.⁷

Though limited, challengers have the ability to change the field as Bourdieu maintains: ‘when a new literary or artistic group imposes itself on the field, the whole space of positions and the space of corresponding possibilities . . . find themselves transformed because of it.’⁸

In such a framework, Q.D.L.’s proclamation of the Minority Press as a successful example of restricted production publishing was premature. The ‘minority’ needed a direction that the intermittent and loosely contiguous set of pamphlets published by the Press was unable to provide. Furthermore, if Leavisism was to ‘impose’ itself on the literary field, it needed an incisive presence. As a journal, *Scrutiny* not only had a regularity (and thus a relevance) that a Minority Press pamphlet was incapable of, it also served as a forum in which initiates could express their views: a crucial function if Leavisism was to be perceived as a movement. Both *Scrutiny* and the Minority Press pamphlets allowed Leavis to establish his restricted production credentials, but *Scrutiny*’s format guaranteed a higher profile, and thereby a larger accumulation of symbolic capital. It is no coincidence that Leavis stopped writing for the press in 1933, one year after *Scrutiny* established itself in the sub-field of literary magazines. From the early twentieth century to the 1940’s, the sub-field was an advantageous location for

impacting literary production. For example, it was in the Modernist magazines of the 'tens and 'twenties that the poetry and prose that would come to have a major influence on later generations of writers was published. It was also here that Leavis's reduced canon and the *Scrutiny* movement found an influential audience in education.

Scrutiny's opposition to large scale production is well known, but the production of that disavowal in relation to other literary magazines, which, taken as a whole, comprise a dynamic field, has never been discussed in much detail. What follows is an attempt to describe the (changing) structure of the sub-field of literary magazines in which *Scrutiny* operated in order to re-situate the journal within the influences that helped determine its dissemination, reception, practices, and critical positions. The sub-field from which *Scrutiny* emerged is potentially unlimited as it can be seen to have developed from as far back—and perhaps even farther—as the magazines of the nineteenth century. Though *Scrutiny* was undoubtedly influenced by journals like the *Edinburgh Review*, among many others, however directly or obliquely, it is too unwieldy an inquiry to make. A case can also be made for examining the international literary periodicals that influenced the sub-field, but a boundary must be drawn at some point. Given Leavis's career long preoccupation with the literary press in Britain, it is appropriate to confine the inquiry within national borders. The sub-field that I am going to consider will therefore be limited to the British literary magazines which emerged during the 'tens, 'twenties, and 'thirties. It should also be recognised that, even within the period I am examining, it has proven uneconomical to consider all significant developments and, far from exhaustive, Section Two looks at the relationships between various poles in the sub-field and *Scrutiny*'s relation to them.

While the possibility of positions was limited, the sub-field was dynamic and could change significantly with the introduction of a new periodical, especially the short-lived Modernist magazines. From 1911, the predominant form of criticism was belletristic, while the poetry was Georgian, a status that was challenged with the emergence of *Blast* and *The Egoist* in 1914. But when such Modernist organs became more of an institution than a contrast—illustrated in the emergence of *The Criterion*—there was reactionary backlash from those writing for a larger, middlebrow audience in the pages of *The London Mercury* and *The Adelphi*, thereby entrenching both positions. One might assume a relative stagnation, but the division prompted the emergence of *The Calendar of Modern Letters* and *The London Aphrodite*, both of which promoted a radical scepticism that was eventually exchanged for a Marxist cultural politics.

I. Commodification and Modernism

Separated by only several years, the Modernist journals were defined in part by their opposition to the previous generation of writers, the Georgians. Conducted primarily in books, the Georgian movement was technically outside of the reach of sub-field of literary magazines. However, the conspicuous commercial interests associated with Georgianism offered the Modernist journals an example against which they could set themselves and which every producer within the sub-field would be familiar with. In 1911, when Edward Marsh began the five volume anthology, *Georgian Poetry*, he was consolidating a group of poets he felt would be capable of invigorating a flagging population of poetry readers at the end of the Edwardian age. If ‘properly thrust . . . under the public’s nose,’ poetry might actually turn a profit.⁹

The Georgians came to be disdained by restricted producers for their 'pedestrian' audience. It is an understatement to assert that the general public was more interested in the Georgians than in the Modernists. *Georgian Poetry*, for example, despite being published in hardback, sold 65,000 copies between only four volumes. This was a number surpassed only by the separate publications of particular poets in its anthology, Brooke and John Masefield, whose *Poems* (1918) and *Collected Poems* (1923) each sold around 100,000 copies by the 1930s.¹⁰ Surprised at the amount of money made from the sales, the contributors felt, 'as if Edward Marsh had brought off a feat of magic—which he indeed had—in making money from poetry.'¹¹

Marsh had brought poetry as close to large-scale production as it had ever been, and it was only a matter of time before the connection between poetry and profit was to become a defining feature of the Georgians. Considering Masefield in 1935, Frank Swinnerton writes: 'he was the first Georgian poet; for he did something at the time which no other poet could do—he made the general public read what he had written.'¹² Solvency, however, contributed to its demise, particularly with those who saw poetic production according to an autonomous logic:

I suppose that the last word on Georgian poetry has been said a great many times, albeit one still lacks a distinct formula in which to dismiss it. Its main faults are that it is *facile*, *sentimental*, socially and politically *non-significant*, fit for people of all ages and, above all, *popular*. Probably no poet, not even Tennyson, had such a wide appeal as the Georgians.¹³

The Modernists, on the other hand, were opposed to the 'masses' and the economic rationale they enforced. The independence of the Modernist magazines was

structured in part by the late nineteenth-century avant-garde magazines like the *Yellow Book* and the *Savoy*. The *Yellow Book* was started, according to Aubrey Beardsley, because ‘many brilliant story painters and picture writers cannot get their best stuff accepted in the conventional magazine, either because they are not topical or perhaps a little risqué.’¹⁴ The *Yellow Book* was to publish according to ‘the absolute rule of workmanship—value from a literary point of view.’¹⁵ Autonomy of this order was in line with Modernist tendencies, but it was only an implied renunciation of the market and the Modernist magazines struck out a new position by making it their most prominent feature.

As Terry Eagleton asserts, ‘Modernism is among other things a strategy whereby the work of art resists commodification, holds out by the skin of its teeth against those social forces which would degrade it into an exchangeable object.’¹⁶ This sentence has been taken by commentators like Paul Delany and Lawrence Rainey as proof that Eagleton believes the Modernists to have successfully escaped commercial processes, though it should not be. Eagleton continues the next sentence: ‘To this extent, Modernist works are in contradiction with their own material status, self-divided phenomena which deny in their discursive forms their own shabby economic reality.’ Such denial is important because it gives rise to the aesthetic, historic, and linguistic complexities symptomatic of Modernist productions. Eagleton writes:

To fend off such reduction to commodity status, the modernist work brackets off the referent or real historical world, thickens its textures and deranges its forms to forestall instant consumability, and draws its own language

protectively around it to become a mysteriously autotelic object, free of all contaminating truck with the real.¹⁷

Though not everyone agrees with Eagleton's viewpoint, it is evidence of a more general shift in the debate about Modernism, from a preoccupation with aesthetics to a preoccupation with economics. In *Institutions of Modernism* (1998), Rainey argues that because of a complicity with the market, Modernism's resistance is at best ambiguous, and he cites in one instance Eliot's threat to publish *The Waste Land* in 1922 in the large scale magazine *Vanity Fair*, rather than *The Dial* when the *Dial*'s offer was not high enough. While Rainey believes 'Modernism was neither a straightforward resistance nor an outright capitulation to commodification, but a momentary equivocation that incorporates elements of both in a brief, necessarily unstable synthesis,' it is significant that Eliot chose in the end to publish with the *Dial*.¹⁸

In another text, Rainey argues that *The Dial* and *Vanity Fair* are 'best viewed not as antagonists who represented alien or incompatible ideologies, but as protagonists who shared a common terrain, whose field of activity overlapped and diverged within a shared spectrum of marketing and consumption.'¹⁹ For Rainey, as Paul Delany argues in 'Who Paid for Modernism', 'the twentieth century avant-garde is no longer an enclave of artistic integrity, holding itself aloof from the swamp of commercialism; rather, according to Rainey, the avant-garde 'played no special role, possessed no special ideological privilege; instead it was constituted by a specific array of marketing and publicity structures that were integrated in varying degrees with the larger economic process of the time.'²⁰ Though Rainey provides a 'cogent riposte to the modernist myth of "art for arts sake" his revisionism . . . is too monolithic. That *The Waste Land* and

Pear's Soap both benefited from marketing campaigns tells us something about modern culture—but not everything, and the distinctions need to be observed as well as the convergences.'²¹

In Ian Willison, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik's *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (1996), Modernism is imagined as intentionally distinct (at least initially) from the mass market. For example Cedric Watts sees Conrad as a 'homo-duplex' composed of a publicly projected 'rather patrician, much-travelled, dedicated author who puts the claims of truth and artistic integrity above the claims of the marketplace, and a writer struggling to make a living.'²² Likewise, in 'Recovering Modernism' Edward Bishop sees the Modernist magazines, though sometimes making compromises, on the whole opposing the economics of 'dominant culture'. For Bishop there is a significant difference between the appearance of Modernist works in the little magazines and in the mass editions of their later commodified status. However blurred at the borders, many Modernist productions go through two stages. In the first, the texts are engineered to alienate all but the most determined readers until, in the second, they are accepted by a larger readership. This chapter is concerned with the first stage.

Voicing the rationale of his fellow writers, Pound exclaimed: 'Nothing written for pay is worth printing, ONLY what has been written AGAINST the market.'²³ Yet writing against the market could considerably shorten the life-span of a magazine as the strategies and the degrees of resistance employed by Modernist journals brought with them their own failures and successes. Drawing upon their experimentation, *Scrutiny* mitigated many of the risks associated with restricted production. Situated at the end of High Modernism, *Scrutiny* had learned the hard lessons that had led to the premature

cessation of many Modernist magazines, allowing for a run that outlasted the three major British magazines of twentieth century Modernism: *Blast*, *The Egoist*, and *The Criterion*.

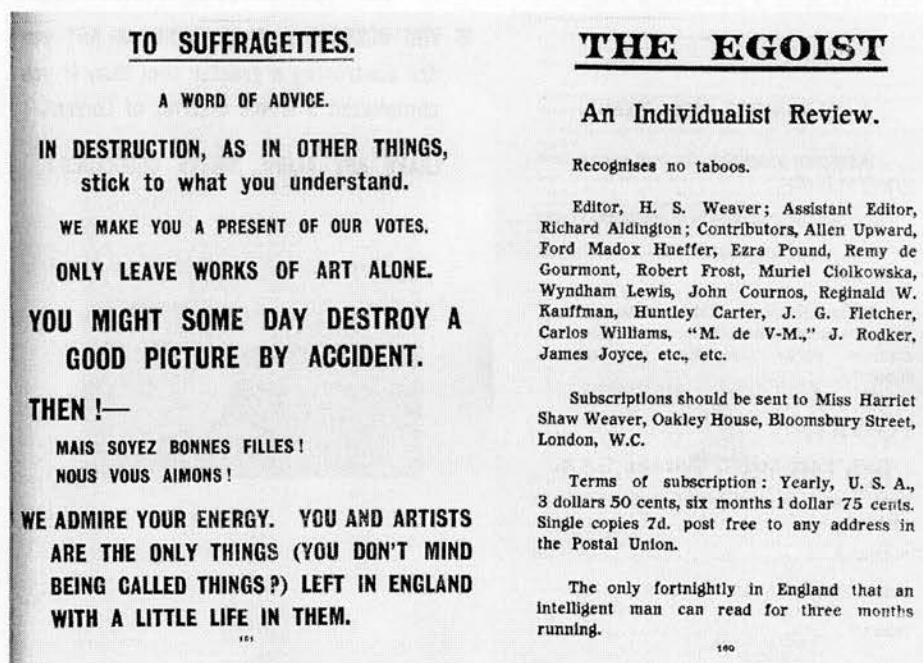
II. Shock and Disagreement

Though it ran for only two numbers, Percy Wyndham Lewis' *Blast* (1914-15) was a watershed for the Modernist break with Victorian and Georgian sensibilities. Nothing like it had appeared before. A magazine that announced the birth of Vorticism, it went on the offensive against convention and veneration, claiming 'to convert the King if possible. A VORTICIST KING! WHY NOT?'²⁴ In opposition to the prevalent superfluity of belletrism, a reader would find on the first page of its inaugural issue a manifesto composed entirely of loosely connected, aphoristic 'blasts' of a variety of contemporary personalities, artists, political movements, and social perceptions. While 'the man in the street and the gentleman are equally ignored,' the "'Poor" are detestable animals,' and the "'Rich" are bores.'²⁵ Instead of accessible Georgian poetry appeared poems by H.D., Eliot, and Pound, who was a major influence on the magazine.²⁶ While the Georgian pastoral attempted to create a place of rest, Pound was writing lines—for example, 'With minds still hovering above their testicles'—that delayed the appearance of the first number until they were blacked out by censors.

One group often singled out for scorn was the 'masses'. As contributors to *Blast* saw them, they were the enemy of individuality. In 'Artists and the War', an article on the repercussions of World War I on artistic production, the writer argues that the public marginalises artists rather than supporting them: 'The Public should not allow its men to

die of starvation during the war, of course But as the English Public lets its artists starve in peace time, there is really nothing to be said.'²⁷ Apparently, for the writer, the Georgians were not artists. 'Vortex', a poem by the soldier and sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, displayed an even more venomous attitude. For Gaudier-Brzeska, war cleansed the individual and 'serve[d] as a purge to over-numerous humanity./ This war is a great remedy/ It takes away from the masses numbers upon numbers of unimportant units, whose economic activities become noxious.'²⁸ Printing such inflammatory rhetoric was certainly congruent with the overall intent to agitate *Blast* readers from complacency.

Blast was engineered to shock at all levels. A searing-pink cover, with the word *BLAST* emblazoned in black bold was a paratextual eruption that no reader had ever come across before in a literary magazine. Typographically, as well, it broke down established protocols with the conspicuous use of bold and capitalised print (Figure 3.1).



Figures 3.1 and 3.2: *Blast* typography. *Blast*, 1 (1914), p. 151. Advertisement for *The Egoist*.

Blast, 1 (1914), p. 160. *Blast*'s propensity towards shock was not spared even when advertising for the one time feminist journal, *The Egoist*, in the same issue that they patronised the suffragettes.

In this sense, its style relied partly on marketing methods—grabbing the readers' attention by visual manipulation rather than a reasoned argument—and it is one of the only literary magazines that dared to conflate the avant-garde with advertising techniques within the main text itself. While most, if not all, literary magazines displayed advertisements, the layout tended to section them off from the main body of text. *Blast* challenged this convention not only by integration in the text, but also by designing advertisements to be typographically similar to the main text. In figure 3.2, for

example, an advertisement for *The Egoist* could have appeared anywhere in the magazine and have read as part of the main text if not for the subscription details at the bottom.²⁹ However, such stylistics should be viewed as a novelty and *Blast* was at all interested in courting the general public; an esoteric perspective maintained over a lengthy 100 to 150 pages per issue ensured that it remained far beyond their reach.

Scrutiny's hostility towards the masses followed *Blast*'s own, but was designed to be much more 'objective', preferring argument to aphorism. While Leavis no doubt recognised the value of *Blast*'s dramatics, his membership in the sub-field of academic literary criticism removed the possibility of employing them. The extremity of *Blast* had sensationalised the case against the masses and served to make any resistance whatsoever seem reactionary snobbery. 'Disinterestedness', as a separation from outside interests, was promoted in order to ensure that *Scrutiny*'s claims would be taken seriously. Much like Q.D.L.'s attempt in *Fiction* to 'give clear reasons why those who disdain [best-sellers] are not necessarily snobs,' *Scrutiny* lay out a case against the masses that could not be easily dismissed. It did not tame Modernist resistance—far from it—but, unlike *Blast*, its 'shock' was deliberate, considered, and intended for the long term. One development (among many), that *Scrutiny* associated with the negative influence of the masses was the diminished capacity of reviewers to impartially assess literature. In 'The Literary Racket', Leavis restates his familiar position on large-scale literature:

The supply of literature has become an industry subject to the same conditions as the supply of any other commodity. For many firms publishing is a business like the manufacture of 50/- suits, and the methods of Big

Business are accordingly adopted. The market is raked for authors—for potential profit makers—the wares are boosted by the usual commercial methods.³⁰

If reviewers were fulfilling their function as Leavis saw it, their reaction would have been to challenge most of the literature that was printed, but ‘they . . . have livings to make, and in the process of making a living they have inevitably left behind what critical qualifications they may have had.’³¹ Leavis asserts that for most critics paying the bills meant that they could not afford to offend their clique. Such writers fell

upon the rash outsider who undertakes to remind the world of what serious standards are. As for the traitor from within, anyone inclined that way does not need the comradely warning that revolt means extinction . . . there are those little dinners at the Berkeley, those cocktail parties, and so on where authors and reviewers learn to ‘get together.’ Mere sense of decency makes unkind reviews or reviews in the wrong spirit impossible.³²

As a disinterested journal, *Scrutiny* was committed to disrupting the chummy reviewing of books and could be as savage as *Blast*. In the first number of *Scrutiny*, H.G. Wells’ *The Work, The Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (1932) is dismantled by Leavis for viewing mass production positively. It is peppered with phrases like ‘he is not an athletic thinker,’ ‘he has swallowed up with complete critical ignorance,’ ‘he is not safe from the Arnold Bennett corruption.’³³ *Scrutiny*, however, was a newcomer in the sub-field of literary magazines and such ‘heresies’ had a direct impact on the reception of his critical efforts in the sub-field, or so Leavis believed:

when *New Bearings* came out (in 1932) it was the signal for a concerted reaction expressing itself . . . not in considered criticism, but in allusive and critically unscrupulous sneers. Anything of that kind was permissible at my expense *New Bearings* got no review in the *Criterion* and my *Revaluation*, later, got a deliberately insulting dismissal.³⁴

Despite voicing frustration with these reviews, Leavis was conscious of the fact that the sub-field operated according to competitive principles and often attempted to transform any animosity to his advantage, as ‘disagreement’ with a known critic could spark a valuable ‘critical exchange’ that would increase *Scrutiny*’s exposure within the sub-field. As a result, attacks on the ‘literary racket’ and the critically contentious views became an editorial policy. In the preface to *The Common Pursuit* (1952) Leavis writes:

[The critic’s] perceptions and judgements are his, or they are nothing; but, whether or not he had consciously addressed himself to co-operative labour, they are inevitably collaborative. Collaboration may take the form of disagreement, and one is grateful to the critic whom one has found worth disagreeing with. Most of the matter in this volume originated in a consciously collaborative enterprise—as sustained effort to promote the ‘co-operative labour’ of criticism.³⁵

Scrutiny thrived on such disagreement and one of its most recognisable positions came about in rebuttal to René Wellek. After reading *Revaluation: Tradition and Development in English Poetry* (1936), Wellek wrote a letter to Leavis, praising his interpretations—indeed reading with much ‘admiration and profit’—but objecting to his avoidance of theory and lack of explicitly stated and systematically defended assumptions.³⁶ Wellek’s

main objection was that Leavis was not open to a normative philosophical rigour, and thus incapable of the systematic illumination of poetry. Leavis responded in the following issue, 'I must thank Dr. Wellek not merely for his explicit compliments (which, coming from a dissentient critic, are especially gratifying), but for bringing fundamental criticism to my work, and above all for raising in so complete a way an issue that a reviewer or two had more or less had vaguely touched on.'³⁷ Though this is often read as insincerity, it should not be. Indeed, without the disagreement, Leavis would not have had the opportunity to famously explicate why philosophy is not only different from, but limiting to, literary criticism. The words of poetry:

demand, not merely a fuller-bodied response, but a completer responsiveness—a kind of responsiveness that is incompatible with the judicial, one-eye-on-the-standard approach suggested by Dr. Wellek [T]o figure [the critic] as measuring with a norm which he brings up to the object and applies from the outside is to misrepresent the process.³⁸

III. Pursuing a 'Restricted' Readership

While *Blast* had lasted only two numbers, *Scrutiny* was able to transform the temporary tactics of shock and disagreement into long-term assets. The short lifespan of Modernist magazines was a problem that Pound himself recognised and, even before *Blast* ended, he was careful to diversify his symbolic capital by turning his attention to *The Egoist* (1914-19). If *Blast* was a momentary explosion, the *Egoist* was intended to secure a lasting Modernist organ by nurturing a readership, and it is worth noting that the *Egoist* took over from a periodical with an entirely different focus and an established

reader base. In 1911, Dora Marsden founded a feminist journal called the *Freewoman*, which ran successfully for a couple of years. There is little direct evidence as to the composition of the readership, but given the strong middle-class support of the suffragette movement, one can infer that many of her readers would have had middle-class origins and, therefore, many would have also had middlebrow tendencies. Pound was no doubt aware of this when he approached Marsden with the idea of changing it into an avant-garde journal. She consented to expanding its focus, and the magazine took on more philosophical and literary overtones under the title *New Freewoman*. An interim magazine, it was intended to gradually shift focus while retaining its readers, and the name changed over to the *Egoist* after only six months. Though promoting the ‘individual’ like *Blast*—hence the label *Egoist*—it was careful not to throw out all publishing protocols. Published on the first and fifteenth of each month, it not only dealt with current topics, but could be relied on to appear regularly. Rather than confounding readers, its layout was a straightforward, two-column format, and its length, being only sixteen to twenty pages long, required much less commitment from readers (Figure 3.3).

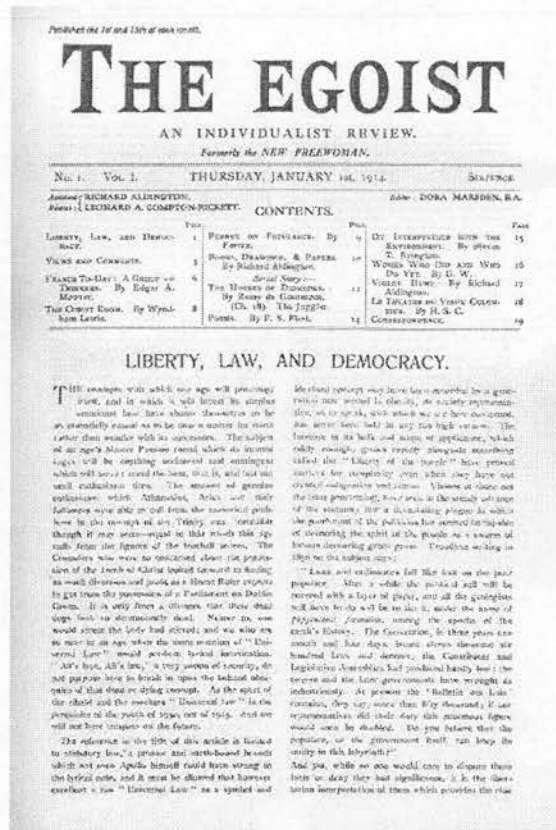


Figure 3.3: *Egoist* layout from the first issue. *Egoist*, 1 (January 1914).

Having dropped feminist proclivities, *The Egoist* provided commentary on contemporary philosophical and artistic movements—both in painting and literature—as well as regularly publishing fiction and poetry. Because of its avant-garde status, *The Egoist* was predisposed to view the effects of the public on literary production in a negative light. One critic, for example, asserted that ‘the annihilation of the artist,’ was a result of ‘the public ownership of the artist, [who] has become de-individualised. He has been moulded to produce and sell Art-form as a commodity, and is now artist in name only.’³⁹ Pound, as well, contributed to the attacks on the public with a vehemence

similar to Gaudier-Brzeska's, pitting the artist at 'war' with the world and imagining the artist as a Nietzschean Übermensch: 'Modern civilisation has bred a race with brains like those of rabbits we who are the heirs of the witch-doctor and the voodoo, we artists who have been so long the despised are about to take over control. And the public will do well to resent these "new" kinds of art.'⁴⁰ Art was not produced for the masses, and if they did not understand it, then 'damn the man on the street.'⁴¹

Taking over a readership that included the middlebrow while maintaining such positions brought serious problems. Despite attempts to make the shift from a feminist to 'an individualist review' a smooth one, readers were inevitably caught off guard by the new elitist tone. One reader, writing in at the beginning of the *Egoist's* run, complained to Marsden:

Your issue of Feb. 2nd is the only recent one I have enjoyed at all. You are quite beyond me. I do think you are too contemptuous of people with whom you disagree. You make me feel quite a worm, which I probably am; but still it is not encouraging. You yourself are constantly changing. It is not so very long ago that you were W.S.P.U. organiser at Southport. (I always used to read your report first in "Votes for Women") . . . I may be wrong but it doesn't help me much to be jeered at.⁴²

Another reader complained about the 'new school' of poetry published regularly by *The Egoist*:

I am persuaded that you will pardon this outbreak from one whose sole and slight claim upon your attention is that of a retired humble scholar, albeit one who peruses your pages with pleasure and profit. I am one of those, Madam,

who have their Tully and their Plato nearer to their heart than the fantastical, lispings, mincing strepitations of our ill-instructed youth; and I have been more displeased to note that you give harbour and assistance to many of these barbarous innovators who, under plea of invention, betterment of the language, fine imagination, and I know not what maggot-headed devices, have spewed forth their defilement and have called it poetry!⁴³

However, *The Egoist* made few concessions to its readers and is today largely remembered for publishing the usual Modernist suspects such as Pound, Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, H.D., Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams, and Amy Lowell long before they were consecrated.⁴⁴ Though the first couple of issues do contain some Georgian style poetry, their appearance is likely an attempt to make the transition between magazines less jolting. In the first issue, there is a poem by F.S. Flint that is obviously indebted to the Georgian preoccupation with nature: 'London, my beautiful/ it is not the sunset/ nor the pale green sky/ shimmering through the curtain of the silver birch,' while the second issue sees a poem titled 'Song O' Love' alongside a more experimental effort, 'The Housekeeper', by Robert Frost. By the third issue, Marsden must have considered the changeover complete and she does not look back, printing H.D.'s 'Hermes of the Ways' without the supporting Georgian contributions.

The bewilderment expressed by *Egoist* readers point to the reason why the journal went under in only five years. Although *The Egoist* lasted longer than *Blast*, taking over a readership which included the middlebrow meant that the journal could not survive in the long term as an avant-garde organ. Rather than invigorating, *The Egoist's* heavy-handed elitism condescended and prevented the transformation of a potentially

receptive readership. *Scrutiny* shared a common ground but was much more successful in its pursuit of a readership.

Much like *The Egoist*, *Scrutiny*'s reputation for exclusivity was well deserved, and actively pursued in the critical judgements found in its pages. But, unlike *The Egoist*'s indelicate alienation of its readers, *Scrutiny* used its exclusivity to conscript subscribers to whom elitism would appeal. Not only did *Scrutiny*'s manifesto use a patriarchal and inclusive 'we'—for example, 'we take it as axiomatic that concern for standards of living implies concern for standards in the arts,' or, 'at this point we remind ourselves of the recent history of critical journalism'—it gave the promise of camaraderie.⁴⁵ As the manifesto declares, 'it is only a small minority for whom the arts are something more than a luxury product, who believe, in fact, that they are "the storehouse of recorded values" and, in consequence, that there is a necessary relationship between the quality of the individual's response to art and his general fitness for a humane existence.'⁴⁶

Scrutiny refused compromises that would cultivate the established academics, but, instead, approached younger accomplices with the promise of rallying a dispersed 'minority':

The trouble is not that [those who believe art is a storehouse for values] form a minority, but that they are scattered and unorganised. Every year, for instance, intelligent young men and women go down from the Universities and are swallowed up by secondary and public schools. Their interests wilt in the atmosphere of the school common room, and isolation makes their efforts to keep themselves informed of 'the best that is thought and known in

the world' unnecessarily depressing and difficult *Scrutiny* has been founded on the assumption that a magazine in which such men and women can exchange and refine their ideas, and which provides a focus of intellectual interests, will perform a service attempted by no other paper.⁴⁷

Unlike Pound, Leavis had realised the danger of failing to convert a readership with already formed opinions. As the 'young' were impressionable and had not yet ossified into any particular position—middlebrow or otherwise—they were the ideal foundation for a movement. Leavis promised them nothing less than the redemption of society, and once given a cause he believed they could form a powerful lobby. The promise of inclusion in the minority differentiated one from the masses. By subscribing to *Scrutiny*, one was supporting the salvation of literature through criticism, and consequentially, the salvation of traditions and values from mass culture.

Converts, particularly teachers, became a valuable asset, and it is no coincidence that education received so much attention in *Scrutiny*, surpassing even the work of Eliot as a point of discussion. Beyond examining educational theory, *Scrutiny* commissioned articles about the practical application of *Scrutiny* principles to the classroom. In May 1932, teachers inspired by *Scrutiny*'s call to arms met at Leavis's house to discuss ways in which the movement might be given more tactical definition. Leavis's opening address stressed that only an effective system of education could address the problems of modern civilisation: the pernicious power of the press, advertising, and the literary racket. In the pamphlet in which the address was published, *The Scrutiny Movement in Education*, Leavis proposed to extend his influence into all branches of education and to encourage the formation of local 'cells,' thereby avoiding an overly elaborate

bureaucracy. Writing to his editor at Chatto and Windus, Ian Parsons, Leavis confirmed his intense lobbying of educators: 'I'm in a position to supply the special connections that will constitute the difference of 'Scrutiny': I could keep a secretary engaged with my correspondence with ex-pupils, many in schools.'⁴⁸

Membership in an elite 'minority' was theoretically available to all classes and in practice this seems to have often been the case. Because of resistance that Newbolt recommendations were meeting in most independent schools, it is likely that a large number of teachers in the *Scrutiny* movement were instructing at state funded institutions. As late as 1961, the Leavisite David Holbrook was complaining of the grammar school exclusion of English and the preference for exams based on classics.⁴⁹ The more prolific, state schools were unhampered by such requirements and by proselytising such teachers, the Leavisite argument gained widespread recognition.

Scrutiny was central to the movement, but its small print run (1500) indicates that it was not the means by which many teachers came to apply its principles. 'Educating up' in the newer schools required concessions to readers that might be put off *Scrutiny*'s challenging prose. With a simplified argument, *Culture and Environment* (1933) was sent out to headmasters and educators for review, and, of course, as a sample to purchase in larger numbers. Like *Scrutiny*, its sale was aided by Leavis's lobbying: 'I'm confident [*Culture and Environment*] won't flop, and it may go very well, with a little luck, excellent. It's difficult of course to gauge the effective influence of our propagandist enthusiasts, but the wave gathers rapidly and we've decidedly got a hearing in "education".'⁵⁰ Co-authored by Denys Thompson, himself a teacher, *Culture and Environment* was a textbook 'designed for school use'—'the earlier the age . . . the

better.’⁵¹ In the introduction, Leavis asserted that, if tradition and culture were to survive standardisation and media advertising, ‘a critical habit must be systematically inculcated.’⁵² For Leavis, the critical habit was not so much an attempt to weigh the claims of advertisements and journalism against reality, but, rather, an extension of the same methods he advocated in his approach to literature. He writes: ‘a great deal can be brought in under English. Practical Criticism—the analysis of prose and verse—may be extended to the analysis of advertisements (the kind of appeal they make and their stylistic characteristics) followed up by comparison with representative passages of journalese and popular fiction.’⁵³

Culture and Environment inaugurated a series of books by Denys Thompson that dealt with similar issues and were written for the educational market, including *Reading and Discrimination* (1934), *Between the Lines or How to Read a Newspaper* (1939), and *Voice of Civilisation: An Enquiry into Advertising* (1943). The form of *Culture and Environment*—promoting a distrust in advertising and journalistic claims, followed by a set of examples unmasking the inaccuracies and tactics of advertising—had proven to work well within education. Thus each book begins with related themes on the negative power of advertising, the manipulation of mass audiences, or the equation of reading habits with the quality of life. Because the books were intended to be read by school students and their teachers, Thompson could not afford to mince his words:

The quality of a man’s life nowadays depends largely on the quality of what he reads Take the case of a man—factory-hand or millionaire—whose work is uninteresting and unsatisfying; his life does not start until the day’s work is over, and his idea of how he should use his leisure, i.e. what kind of

a life he should lead, will be formed by the printed word, aided by the cinema In time he will become incapable of thinking or feeling for himself.⁵⁴

The simple line no doubt contributed to the popularity of his books in schools, which, incidentally, increased Leavis's profile by virtue of reference or outright promotion. For example, in the statement of 'intention' to *Reading and Discrimination*, of the six books Thompson plugs as helpful, three are authored by the Leavises.

The 'Scrutiny movement', also known as the 'Culture and Environment movement,' helped expand Leavis's readership. Unable to finance a Ph.D. at Cambridge, Thompson was sent out to the independent Gresham's School in Norfolk, which had made provision for English studies. Thompson's position at an elite school had decided advantages for *Scrutiny*, as Leavis was aware: 'Thompson's a magnificent propagandist and is determined to get the educational virtues of *Fiction and the Reading Public* recognised in schools. The strength of *Scrutiny* is the number of propagandists like him that it has. But he is especially well placed.'⁵⁵ Thompson also sent pupils from Gresham's, and was quick to point them out to Leavis, as was the case with the Cambridge Communist, James Klugmann, who, within days of arriving at Cambridge, found a letter pushed under his door: 'We understand you are an intelligent [sic] A group of us meets,' with date and time following.⁵⁶ Thompson's potential was realised in 1940 when he began *English in Schools* and later *The Use of English* in 1949, journals intended as organs of the movement. It is hardly surprising to note one of the early articles in *The Use of English* written by Raymond Williams, 'Stocktaking I: Books for Teaching "Culture and Environment",' which recommends, nearly all of Leavis's books

that had been published, Thompson's, as well as his own.⁵⁷ The environment of mutual promotion not only helped the wider movement, but also expanded the journal's readership from a core group of English teachers to subscriptions from libraries at schools, universities, and colleges of education libraries. The permeation of the movement can be marked by *The Use of English's* increasing circulation, up from 1400 in 1953 to 4000 a decade later.⁵⁸

IV. The Capture of *Scrutiny*

As much as the movement proselytised educators, it would have come to nothing had they not 'captured' its message. While there is very little available information as to how this happened in higher education during *Scrutiny's* run (though there is some evidence about how Leavisism in general was taken up at the Universities after the cessation of *Scrutiny*, which will be discussed in Chapter Six), there is a wider body of evidence with regard to primary, secondary, and adult education. During the days of *Scrutiny*, Leavisism was taken up by many teachers as a powerful confirmation that their jobs could affect the wider society. As the educationist David Shayer enthusiastically wrote of the *Scrutiny* movement of the 'thirties and 'forties:

We may not be able to follow [Leavis] the whole distance . . . but no one concerned with English teaching can fail to respond to with excitement to this sort of thing To be involved in teaching English is not just to be concerned with pupils' 'reading' or 'writing' or 'spelling' but to be responsible for the health of the language, and consequently for civilised

thinking and living, for the growth of emotional even moral judgement, and for the quality of life itself.⁵⁹

The *Scrutiny* rhetoric was, in short, useful, and the 1930's saw the publication of several books by educators that borrowed from it, including, of course, Thompson's *Reading and Discrimination* (1934) as well as Percival Gurrey's *The Appreciation of Poetry* (1935), and Roy Meldrum's *An English Technique* (1935).

An important source of information as to how the *Scrutiny* argument was taken up by the teachers themselves (and even on occasion, their students) are the contributions to *English in Schools* and *The Use of English*. Though often including more 'orthodox' articles written by 'Scrutineers' like Boris Ford, Denys Thompson, and G.D. Klingopoulos, who rarely departed from the party line, the more interesting contributions are by the teachers who, on the whole, follow *Scrutiny* themes, but disagree with their prescribed applications, or adapt them to their own ends. For example, an article by one Mary Palmer, 'Children and Tradition', acknowledged that

Teachers of to-day . . . are faced with a task of a very different order of magnitude and urgency. They must, while there is time—if there is still time—fire a generation with imagination to will, knowledge to plan, and courage to make, a whole and healthy society, a community immune against forces of disintegration and destruction.⁶⁰

However, taking issue with *Culture and Environment*, Palmer writes:

We know that there was once in English life a sense of community that we have lost with the old culture But there is some tendency to mistake the

signs for the *culture*, and to imagine that the lost sense of community depended on the conditions of life now existing only in remote villages.⁶¹

In 'English and Leisure', Dorothy King begins following the example of *Fiction and the Reading Public* by analysing the reading 'habits' of her students and citing the foreboding abundance of 'penny-dreadfuls' (comics costing a penny), romances, and detective stories. However, she refrains from conforming to the strictures of *Fiction* by recommending reading alternatives like Robert Louis Stevenson or even Scott (who Q.D.L. accused of pursuing the market).⁶² What is more, she qualifies the use of Shakespeare in the classroom on grounds that 'one should of course, "do" [Shakespeare], but one should not expect . . . the same sort, or perhaps, extent, of enjoyment from *As You Like It* as from *Kidnapped*.'⁶³ As King's comments demonstrate, classroom realities could push moralising into the background. One contributor attempting to impart respect for literary creation to his students went so far as to recommend to fellow teachers that they have their classes write an 'adventure' novel in the manner of H.G. Wells' *Time Machine*. However un-Leavisite, the practical benefits were obvious for the contributor: 'any project is worth undertaking which will stimulate genuine interest capable of being sustained throughout the term, especially when that project produces a realisation that the formal discipline of good writing, spelling, punctuation, and grammar, is a necessary part of literary craftsmanship.'⁶⁴

Some teachers went to the other extreme and employed a language that even Q.D.L. would hesitate to use. For example, S.J. Coulson recommended a syllabus he had used for adult education classes, which included group discussion topics like, 'You and propaganda', 'Tracking down the literary criminal', and 'Some of the novelists'

confidence tricks.’⁶⁵ Coulson’s elaborated notes reveal his fervency: ‘The uncritical life is not worth living. If you don’t like a book you call it “highbrow,” and then get an inferiority complex because you know you’re bluffing. Learn to criticise properly so that you can express your dislike with conviction; you will gain respect and not feel inferior.’⁶⁶ However, Coulson adopted the same tactics of exaggeration and simplification for which he condemned other writers:

Seventy-five percent of what we are given to read is propaganda. It aims to trick you into agreement. Such writers are confidence tricksters—their writings are crimes against society and must be destroyed by critical analysis If an advertisement sells its product by telling lies, it is morally bad. It is also bad writing for that is what we mean by the term, i.e., insincerity. No society that tolerates this social crime will last for long.⁶⁷

F.S. Whitehead, an adult education teacher in the Army, gave a course entitled ‘The Press and Society’, which began by tracing ‘the way in which advertisements and the competition for mass circulation have affected the taste and standards of the reading public.’⁶⁸ Whitehead also helped his students develop ‘the ability to read critically’ and gave the class passages from newspapers found in Thompson’s *Between the Lines* in order to demonstrate that ‘detailed analysis of specific pieces of writing showed how the writer’s reliability and responsibility can be assessed on internal evidence.’⁶⁹ At first, Whitehead recalls, the students were ‘bewildered,’ but after a couple of days ‘the object of it began to be seen more clearly.’⁷⁰

No doubt ‘seeing the object more clearly’ had something to do with figuring out *how* Whitehead wanted them to consider the passages. Even very young students were

quick to pick up on signals given by their teachers and the ‘book reviews’ written by children and published in *English In Schools* confirm a learned Leavisite idiom.

Reviewing *The Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius* (1940), for example, T.M. Beeston (age 11) felt confident enough in the book’s quality to ‘safely recommend it to anyone either young or old,’ while after reading *The Fighting Tramp* (1940) N.G. Loraine (age 13), observed in a similar style to Q.D.L. that ‘the story is vivid but without exaggeration.’⁷¹

When *English in Schools* changed over to *The Use of English* in 1949, Thompson used it as an opportunity to restate the *Scrutiny* line, mentioning Northcliffe, ‘educating against the environment,’ and ‘the grip of the entertainment industry.’⁷² Whereas *English in Schools* primarily provided an opportunity for teachers to share their experiences with educating according to the *Scrutiny* movement, the new publication was intended to be ‘practical,’ which meant, among other things, the addition of lessons in every issue that featured samples of prose from an advertisement or popular novel and from more literary texts. Students were told by their teachers to compare the passages, consider why they preferred one over the other, and what the object of the passages were. ‘Criticism in Practice II’, by Thompson, for example, offered an advertisement for ‘Mellow Morn Flakes’—‘crisp golden flakes’—alongside a description of corn kernels in a rural marketplace—‘Sometimes the grains are dry and shrivelled and hard as shot, sometimes they are large and full and have a juiciness about them, sometimes they are a bit red.’⁷³ As was reported in the next issue of the journal, the exercise was performed by over thirty schools. Critiques from the sixth form, which, according to Thompson, were ‘excellent’, recognised that the Morn Flakes advertisement was ‘seductive,’ and a

‘typical piece of commercial jargon,’ while the second passage was commended for its ‘unvarnished description.’⁷⁴

Many younger students, who were less attuned to such categories, actually preferred the Morn Flakes advertisement on the grounds that it conveyed a ‘very pleasant attitude,’ or was an example of ‘what an advertisement should be.’⁷⁵ In order to correct such ‘depressing’ ‘mistakes’, Thompson suggested class discussions on advertising and the examination of the books suggested by Williams in ‘Stocktaking I.’ While such direction was interpreted and applied differently by different teachers, further student responses suggest that many teachers successfully implemented a distrust of advertising, as one quoted reaction by a ‘Schoolboy of Thirteen’ shows:

Everyone has seen the small boys in advertisements who catch crooks and then eat some food or other that they are advertising. I always read their adventures, and the more I read them the more I hate these boys, particularly one little chap named Tommy Chester . . . at the end of every adventure someone pats Tommy on the back and says, ‘You did a great job, my boy. What would you like for a reward?’ And Tommy Chester answers, ‘I want Chester’s Choc Ices, because they keep me fit and strong.’ Somehow they always have enough money to buy about ten ice creams a day. Pity they aren’t sick. If I ever met such a boy in real life I’d give him a punch in the nose.⁷⁶

Further instalments of ‘Criticism in Practice’ also show that students were beginning to make use of Leavis’s literary criticism, by exhibiting a moralising, impressionistic approach to texts. Comparing passages by Wordsworth and Thomas

Hood, for example, students commented that in Hood's poem 'there was a dulling regularity about the metre that gave no scope for rhythmic variations'; 'the writer has started off with a stock phrase and an obvious setting . . . and when he proceeds to use a metaphor it is one which in a modified form is hackneyed, and which when extended in the line "Kept heaving to and fro" becomes merely ridiculous.'⁷⁷ The abundance of such responses throughout the 'Criticism in Practice' exercises led one Dorothy Cooper to conclude that she was merely 'training [students] to be just smart enough to detect the "superior" piece of work and use it to flog the second example.'⁷⁸ This was no doubt the case with the student who applied the Leavisite division between culture and corruption: while Wordsworth's poem added 'to our awareness of the whole human situation,' Hood's poem, 'by its sentimentalising, its avoidance, and its superficial feeling is *harmful to read*.'⁷⁹ Cooper held reservations about such responses, fearing that they were evidence of an attitude that saw students as 'hopelessly infected by a lost society and [teachers] as an anti-tetanus squad moving vigilantly about with injections.'⁸⁰ Rather, according to Cooper, teachers 'must realise that they can be delightfully surprised by the novelty and richness of student's experience.'⁸¹ But if Cooper saw a tension between leading students and letting them come to their own conclusions, many teachers saw no problem with indoctrinating their students. According to one correspondent, the problem was not the direction of the exercises, but rather the teachers who had gone 'astray' by failing to condemn the 'lesser' passages and insisting on 'keeping their respect for the fallen gods.'⁸²

V. Editorial Directions

Given that the anti-market philosophy of *The Egoist* contributed to its demise, *Scrutiny*'s adamant opposition to the market at one level seems imprudent, but Leavis had his reasons. If *The Egoist* had demonstrated the danger of bullying a readership, *The Criterion* (1922-39) showed the problems of resisting any determination whatsoever. Given that Eliot was the editor, it is easy to imagine *The Criterion* in the same mould as *Blast* and *The Egoist*, but, unlike Pound's projects, it often shunned modernist exclusivity in favour of a 'liberal' editorial policy that incorporated a variety of often conflicting perspectives from both consecrated and newcomer. The first journal to take such a position was Ford Madox Hueffer's *English Review*, which began in 1908 and which he edited for fifteen months. By publishing avant-garde writers like Pound, Lawrence, and Wyndham-Lewis, alongside established and commercial writers like Hardy and Wells, the *English Review* became known for synthesising the avant-garde and the old guard. Likewise, when *The Criterion* famously began in 1922 with the publication of *The Waste Land*, it was a notable number not only because of Eliot's poem, but, also, because of contributions by Herman Hesse, Saintsbury, and a posthumous contribution by Fyodor Dostoevsky.⁸³ Excepting the later celebrity of *The Waste Land*, the first number was indicative of Eliot's hodgepodge selections where the contemporary was placed alongside the past: Eliot was alongside Saintsbury, and a critical appraisal of Joyce was alongside one of Euripides. Later numbers saw the publication of Pound as well as the Georgian, Harold Monro. Such variety could be confusing to say the least, and Eliot did little to help his readers understand his choices.

Unlike *Blast* and *The Egoist*, there was to be no manifesto, or even statement, of the position that the magazine was to take for the first three issues. At the back of the fourth number, under the innocuous title 'Notes', appeared an assertion that the function of a literary review is not 'to provide material for the chat of coteries—nor is a review called upon to avoid such appeal,' but 'to maintain the autonomy and disinterestedness of literature, and at the same time to exhibit the relations of literature . . . to all the other activities, which, together with literature, are the components of life.'⁸⁴

But what Eliot saw as flexibility soon became uncertainty and he needed to restate his position after the magazine was re-launched as *The New Criterion* in 1927. It was to be a site for international (generally European) critical thought that avoided the pitfalls of a narrow editorial opinion as well as any form of sectarianism. Eliot writes:

[*The New Criterion*] is to be a vehicle for opinion. Not the haphazard opinion of a miscellaneous group of "writers", or for the opinion of an individual, or for the drilled opinion of a school or order, but for the various, divergent or even contradictory opinions of a widening group of individuals in communication.⁸⁵

Unlike *Blast* or *The Egoist*, which plainly stated their intentions, the position of *The New Criterion* took was to be 'felt'. 'The "common tendency",' wrote Eliot, 'may appear stronger or weaker in different contexts or at different times: it is, we think, distinct and strong enough in *The New Criterion*; it cannot be but felt, and it is better that it be felt than formulated.'⁸⁶

This lack of a clear editorial policy led to an arcane assortment of topics. One number, for example, contained a commentary by Eliot on extensions to Westminster

Abbey, a 'Prologue to an Essay on Criticism', and 'Florentine Journal', Bennett's serialised diary of his time in Italy.⁸⁷ What 'common tendency' that might exist between these titles can hardly be felt, much less propositionalised, and Eliot certainly falls to his critique of 'feeble' reviews: 'A review which depends merely on its editor's vague perceptions of "good" and "bad" has manifestly no critical value. A review should be an organ of documentation. That is to say, the bound volumes of a decade should represent the development of the keenest sensibility and clearest thoughts of ten years.'⁸⁸

It should not be inferred that *The New Criterion* was out of touch with the critical debates of the day. Notwithstanding its lack of unity, *The New Criterion* did print important critical and philosophical essays alongside prose and poetry, including contributions by Marcel Proust, Paul Valéry, Luigi Pirandello, Jean Cocteau, Pound, Virginia Woolf, and W.B. Yeats to name only a few. One of the most valuable sections in *The New Criterion* was its regular review of foreign periodicals in which it actually attained its ideal as a locus of critical thought from Europe and beyond. Reviewing journals from Paris to New York to Buenos-Aires, it gave its readers a sense of intellectual the climate abroad. Eliot also attempted to engage with the political and social implications of World War I and the prospect of the upcoming war from a disinterested perspective, giving space to both Fascist and Communist in the same issue.⁸⁹ But, despite his attempts to facilitate dialogue, 'the European mind' was divided and Eliot ended *The New Criterion* in disillusionment the same year that World War II began. Eliot realised that in such a climate, a review that relied on a feeling to document the 'clearest thought' was doomed: 'there were fewer writers in any country who seemed to have anything to say to the intellectual public of another. Divisions of political theory

became important; alien minds took alien ways and Britain and France appeared to be progressing nowhere.’⁹⁰

The *Criterion* was the only Modernist magazine that *Scrutiny* attacked. It was no coincidence, of course, that it was the only Modernist magazine that *Scrutiny* was competing with in the sub-field. The *Criterion* was one of the pre-eminent journals and the shortcomings of its liberal position left a opening for *Scrutiny* to take the opposite tack. In Leavis’s view, Eliot’s refusal to employ a particular standard had resulted in an journal filled with vapid essays, numb to the moral realities of literature and life, compelling him to express:

the general regret that the name of *The Criterion* has become so dismal an irony and that the Editor is so far from applying to his contributors the standards we have learnt from him. The relevance of the point may be enforced by remarking the particular weakness of *The Criterion* for the dead, academic kind of abstract ‘thinking,’ especially when the ‘thinker’ (incapable of literary criticism) stands in a general abstract way for ‘order,’ ‘intelligence’ and the other counters, all of which are worth less than nothing if not related scrupulously to the concrete.⁹¹

Though hostile, Leavis’s comment was not without insight. Consider this dry, hauntingly polite essay by the Fascist J.S. Barnes published in *The Criterion*:

Mr. T.S. Eliot has honoured me with an invitation to see if I cannot answer some of the questions he has raised in his stimulating article, which appeared in the January number of this Review, entitled *The Literature of Fascism*. Therein he raises a number of questions, which, as he says, are typical of

those assailing the mind of the average, but thoughtful and widely cultured, Englishman and American when he turns his thoughts to the consideration of that very striking political phenomenon which has come to be known by the name of Fascism These questions undoubtedly require answers; and I shall do my best to give them in the restricted space of the following pages. *History in course of time alone, however, as Mr. Eliot points out, can give the positive answers* [italics added].⁹²

While the *Criterion* refused direction, Leavis would distinguish *Scrutiny* in the sub-field by making its common tendency plain, not least by being the single largest contributor. When Leavis complained that he shouldered the burden of filling the pages with estimable criticism, he was not exaggerating. Out of 779 articles (excluding reviews) contributed by 118 different contributors, Leavis wrote 116 articles himself, thereby giving *Scrutiny* an editorial focus that *The Criterion* resisted. Despite being unlisted as an editor in the first two issues, Leavis was deeply involved with *Scrutiny* from the start, and he advised his students, L.C. Knights and Donald Culver, in their capacity as *Scrutiny* editors. As he wrote to Ian Parsons,

Formally, for public reasons (you know enough about Cambridge to understand) I'm keeping out of it. Actually (in confidence, again) most of the planning goes on at my house Fortunately the active promoters, Knights and Culver, are very energetic, intelligent, and share my notion of what should be done.⁹³

Leavis was willing to do more than just conceal his role, and the first issue saw him misleading readers by intimating that he had been asked by 'the editors of *Scrutiny*' to do a review of Wells.⁹⁴

Leavis's reluctance to associate himself directly with *Scrutiny* for 'public' reasons was no doubt heightened by the uncertainty of his position at Cambridge. Although becoming increasingly recognised outside of the University as the founder of a new 'Cambridge Criticism,' his institutional status was by no means as promising. Leavis's lectureship had ended in 1931, and he was only tenuously employed as a part-time supervisor. As he had only published several pamphlets, one poorly received book, and three articles, his academic reputation was uncertain as well, and becoming an editor of a what began as a student journal was, at the very least, risky if it failed. It is not surprising that his publishing record demonstrates a measure of caution: in May through September of 1932, while he heavily invested in *Scrutiny*'s contents with five articles and one review, he still published an article with *Bookman* in October 1932 and continued to write reviews for periodicals such *The Spectator* and *The Listener*, among others. But, once *Scrutiny* found a proven audience, he ceased writing for all journals outside of *Scrutiny* during 1933.

As a journal primarily composed of subordinates, *Scrutiny* not only provided Leavis with a platform that had been denied him when cut off from the *Cambridge Review*, but also gave him control. Writing to Parsons, Leavis confides: '*Scrutiny* has behind it a group of people (whom, for the most part, and—this is in strict confidence—put on to their subjects) who are doing anthropologico-literary research, *Fiction and the Reading Public* being the pioneer example.'⁹⁵ He could even attach their names to his work. When responding to a claim by Mulhern that Leavis 'approved the manifesto that Knights had drafted for it,' Q.D.L. asserted that it was Leavis who deserved the credit

because he 'redrafted' their version.⁹⁶ On another occasion, Leavis directed the student reviewer, Geoffrey Walton, on how to regard Robert Frost's *Selected Poems*:

If I may drop a tip (to be picked up or left) the obvious treatment is to bring out his extreme limitations of interest, etc., in contrast to Edward Thomas (to whom he did, as a matter of history, give the decisive impulse). A simple mind (O yes, honest—'into pity'—and all that) as opposed to a subtle. How it comes out, the contrast, in the rhythms! I can't help thinking that Frost's flatness is just flat. The way the speech movement goes into verse is pointless and monotonous (the Tennysonian weakness where Tennyson offers simple-speech effects). And always the same depressed, reflective, honest plain-Yankee, mood. When you've read one poem, you've read the lot.⁹⁷

In the event, Walton's review read very much like Leavis's 'tip'—the comparison with Thomas, claims of being 'diffuse' (similar to Leavis's 'pointless') alongside claims of Frost as 'pleasant' poet rather than an 'important poet,' as well as the assertion of Frost's possession of a 'simple . . . sensibility' (similar to Leavis's 'simple mind').⁹⁸ Yet Leavis did not have complete control. Over the years, students were often featured as contributors, even editors, and the outcome of this policy was never certain. Q.D.L. writes:

In the desire to spread our contributors we tried people out and this is always a risk: it will be noticed that some names occur only once or at most twice, (for example, Grigson), before being dropped. And as far as the central office is concerned, we suffered from the fact that the other editors could not

be prevented from commissioning contributions on their own initiative (for example L.C. Knights inviting Spender who declined) nearly always with deplorable results, we felt, but we had to print them.⁹⁹

Regarding the regular student contributor H.A. Mason, Leavis divulged to G. Singh, Leavis's friend and Italian translator:

I don't think . . . anything of his is good enough. We used him because of his languages and his journalistic facility, which could be kept, or raised, to a reasonably intelligent *informational* level which was in close touch with the conversation in my drawing room Rereading him confirms my sense that he says, critically, very little—in a lot of words. His useful function was to put to our readers on to what was coming out. Plausibly glib and superficially intelligent.¹⁰⁰

Despite such disparaging remarks, Leavis's students helped share the burden of producing for *Scrutiny* and the training of students was an investment in a future generation of contributors. When the regular supply of students dried up, *Scrutiny* was crippled. As Leavis explained:

As soon as mobilisation started, which was well before the declaration of war, our contributing connexion registered the consequences Still number after number *Scrutiny* did come out, at what cost in strain to the permanent nucleus of the connexion those who examine the volumes for those years will perhaps guess. The difficulty continued for long after the end of the war. For all that time we had not been enlisting and training up recruits in the way that peace time Cambridge had made possible. . . .

[Scrutiny's cessation] was precipitated by a quick succession of disappointments: contributor after contributor of those counted on wrote regretting the impossibility of keeping his promise.¹⁰¹

Repudiating the idea that *Scrutiny* 'was the organ of a small and narrow group, or cultivated an ethos of coterie,' Leavis claimed that 'before it stopped it had printed well over a hundred and fifty contributors.'¹⁰² Though in one sense accurate, this is also grossly misleading. While there were 118 contributors producing 779 articles throughout the life of *Scrutiny* (the larger number Leavis provides includes book reviews), 19 of the contributors—including the Leavises—wrote 556 of the total number of articles. Without the core group, there was no *Scrutiny*.¹⁰³

An assertion by Leavis that *Scrutiny* 'had no critical orthodoxy' is no less misleading.¹⁰⁴ The journal's treatment of W. H. Auden is a prime example of how Leavis's views were enforced throughout. Leavis resented Auden for having detracted from Eliot's eminence and was unwilling to see him as anything but a pretender, a view that was consistently reinforced by a number of Scrutineers. Fourteen Auden titles were reviewed by nine separate contributors, but Auden rarely received favourable treatment. Such consistency was not coincidental. As an editor at the 'central office,' Leavis could and did, as Q. D. recorded, try out writers and then drop them if they failed to perform according to his specifications. In light of this, it is significant that most writers appeared only once. If 19 contributors out of 118 wrote the bulk of the material, 99 contributed very little indeed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Orthodoxy and Its Discontents: Reactions to Modernism

Despite the *Criterion*'s resistance to the 'drilled opinion of a school or order,' the journal that published *The Waste Land*—which was for many commentators the pinnacle of Modernist poetics—could only be seen as a Modernist journal. *Scrutiny* shared an anti-populist ideal consistent throughout these journals and the *Criterion*'s publication of writers like Bennett and Monro must have seemed to the *Scrutiny* circle as an attempt to avoid its obligatory position in the sub-field. Eliot argued that he wanted to represent something beyond mere Modernist tendencies—'the mind of Europe'—but he failed to convince the rest of the sub-field, not least because the *Criterion*'s dry intellectualisation ensured an extremely low circulation (800) characteristic of Modernist productions.

The compartmentalisation of the *Criterion* signifies the consecration of Modernist producers. As they began to accumulate symbolic capital, they became established to such a degree that field dynamics were technically inverted: producers identifying themselves as the old-guard came to challenge the once avant-garde Modernists. The extremity of Modernist experimentation forced many competitors in the sub-field to choose between even bolder experimentation or a reaffirmation of a more familiar aesthetics; most chose the latter. Now producers were old-guard (*The London Mercury*) or opposed to established Modernist forms (*The Adelphi*). This relative

stagnation was interrupted by the scepticism of *The Calendar of Modern Letters* and *The London Aphrodite*. In comparison to the Modernist magazines, those considered in this chapter were observant of—though not necessarily produced for—a middlebrow readership. This was demonstrated by their larger circulations: 10,000 for the *Mercury*, 15,000 for the *Adelphi*, 8000 for the *Calendar* (dropping to 1000), and the *Aphrodite* with around 5000 in total.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, ‘middlebrow’ was first used in 1925 to describe ‘people who are hoping that one day they will get used to the stuff they ought to like.’¹ As best-sellers, middlebrow fiction was produced within the large-scale domain, but it would be inaccurate to simply equate it with Mills and Boon productions. The British middlebrow readership that formed between the two World Wars was a middle-class reaction against the aesthetic radicalism of Modernism and the formulaism of the bulk of popular fiction. According to Rosa Bracco, middlebrow novels often took the Great War as their subject in order to address

the watershed between the reliable past and the confusing present, the tragic break between the old and the new. They attempt not to camouflage the horror of war but to soften the impact of the break it represented by reasserting links with the past; even when lamenting the disruptive consequences of the war they still imply the possibility of readjusting the various parts and making them whole and functional again.²

This readjustment was expressed within fiction as a reliance on a Victorian-style narrative. For its contemporary critics however, the chief characteristic was an unresolved tension between entertainment value and ‘literary’ value. George Orwell

called middlebrow texts ‘Good Bad Books’, while Woolf dismissed them as ‘betwixt and ‘between.’³ Resisting experimentation and heavily relying on biography, they were, for Orwell, ‘authentic’ but were not “‘good” by any strictly literary standard.’⁴

Though hardly best-sellers on the same scale of fiction, the middlebrow magazines mitigated Modernist experimentation by rejecting Modernist aesthetics, by promoting a biographised Modernism, or by maintaining a general scepticism. In taking a position among these magazines, *Scrutiny* revealed a complex relationship with middlebrow vacillation. For example, *Scrutiny* condemned the *London Mercury*’s strict opposition to writers like Eliot, but responded positively to the *Adelphi*’s promotion of less difficult, ‘biographical’ writers like Lawrence and Mansfield. At the same time, *The Calendar*’s premature cessation and the *Aphrodite*’s cynicism convinced Leavis of the need to offer a cultural politics that did not rely on a pre-existing middlebrow audience. Rather, the journal sought to radicalise a would-be middlebrow audience before it expressed such tendencies.

I. Squire and *Scrutiny*

In the first issue of *The London Mercury* (1919-39), the editor, J.C. Squire, pronounced a policy which privileged no artist or style of art over another, only that the work it published was ‘the best that is being done.’⁵ Squire quickly turned this indefinite principle against Modernist productions. He claimed that the *Mercury* was ‘tied to no system of harmony,’ but it was firmly opposed to the ‘ists’ of the day—‘Futurist, Vorticist, Expressionist, post-Impressionist, Cubist, Unanimist, Imagist’—on the grounds that ‘banners and battle cries’ ensure ‘fundamentals are forgotten.’⁶ The

Mercury was an organ for older middlebrow readers and to completely ‘make it new’ was an alarming prospect. For the *Mercury*, new forms were perversions of art that ‘sprang from every sort of impulse but the right one, and were governed by every sort of conception but the right one.’⁷ In order to maintain its stance, the *London Mercury* avoided a serious consideration of the Modernists. For example, when reviewing *The Waste Land*, Squire wrote

Conceivably what is attempted here is a faithful transcript, after Mr. Joyce’s obscurer manner, of the poet’s wandering thoughts when in a state of erudite depression. A grunt would serve equally as well . . . If I were to write a similar poem about this poem, the first line from another work which would stray into medley, would be Mr. Chesterton’s emphatic refrain ‘Will someone take me to a pub?’⁸

The *London Mercury* under Squire’s editorship was a defensive reaction by an older world, a promotion of Georgian poetics as an antidote to coming (and present) Modernist forms. The poets it published—Hardy, Brooke, Sassoon, and de la Mare—were part of an institution rather than a challenge to one. However, it should be recognised that Squire was not completely opposed to experimentation, only experimentation that was set against tradition. Hardy, Bridges, and Conrad, for example, were poets who ‘have gone steadily down the sound path,’ and were ‘traditional yet experimental.’⁹ From such a framework, Squire should not have been able to denounce the Imagists like Pound, who aligned themselves with the classical restraint of Greek, Italian, and English poets.

While Squire's criteria would seem to provide space for Modernist writers—indeed at one point, he promotes Yeats—he fails to follow this through. As his biographer Patrick Howarth implies, it is likely a result of the fact that 'the criticism by which work would be judged would be simply whether or not Squire approved of it,' and approval seemed limited by 'publish[ing] nothing which he himself found unintelligible.'¹⁰ Though at some level all editors make their decisions according to personal preference, for an editor committed to seeking out —'the best that is being done'—Squire's editorial stubbornness was particularly limiting to the scope of the periodical. Thus *The London Mercury* ignored a major poetic shift. Squire was perhaps aware of the result that publishing Modernists might have on circulation, writing in the second number 'should we, in the long run, fail to satisfy the public, we should have nothing and nobody but ourselves to blame. Either our conception would have proved unpopular or our execution would have been deemed inadequate.'¹¹

Squire's 'conception' was certainly popular and he was even considered by one antagonist to be the 'Dean of English Criticism.'¹² With a circulation of 10,000 by its third year, and Squire at one point earning a yearly income of £1200 from the magazine, he had a lot to lose if the middlebrow audience deemed the poetry unintelligible. It was no coincidence he published poetry that conformed to his reader's prejudices.¹³ One writer described the *Mercury* reader as:

interested above all in preserving the amenities of Oxford and of Waterloo Bridge. He is also interested in reprints, particularly of the minor (respectable) poets and essayists of the past, provided such minor poets and essayists are duly (and dully) included in the standard text-books of

‘literature’ dear to the souls of University Professors and Research Students in ‘English’ . . . [I]n other words the man is a Middle-class Snob, commercially self-made perhaps, still somewhat conscious of what differentiates him from his social inferiors.¹⁴

Scrutiny recognised that these readers were the target audience of much of the metropolitan literary culture and it opposed any concessions that literary magazines made to them. In an article entitled ‘Flank-Rubbing and Criticism’, D.W. Harding and L.C. Knights asserted:

One could hardly be anything but amused by the trumpetings with which the *London Mercury*, in its June editorial, turned out the Old Guard against the Reactionaries—those who have reacted, that is, against the traditions of late nineteenth-century poetry. Professor Housman’s lecture on *The Name and Nature of Poetry* provided the occasion. ‘It was like a bugle-call, or the All Clear signal after an air-raid: the population stirred again, saying “Thank Heaven *that’s* over!” . . . It seems the invaders are in flight and the Editor of the *Mercury* (who has a pretty good idea ‘as to what poetry is’—witness his remark that most of Donne’s verse would be better in prose) can now, beer-mug of stout fellowship in one hand, knightly sword in the other, flourish defiance behind their backs.¹⁵

For *Scrutiny*, Squire was a convenient foil that provided several opportunities to attack middlebrow preferences. When Squire published a book of poems, *A Face in the Candlelight* in 1933, it was harshly reviewed by Geoffrey Grigson in *Scrutiny* for attempting to resuscitate dying Georgian forms:

Mr. Squire's poems down to his new book have been marked by ineptitudes of imagery, commonplace themes, language of romanticist fashion, and absence of rhythmical individuality. *Lacrimare rerum*, contrast of human transience and material permanence, thoughts beyond thought, yearning for far land or fair woman, etc., always recur. His poems are proper to a man without critical power and having no more creative ability than is needed for the vulgar craft of parody.¹⁶

Rather than challenging Squire, the large-scale papers praised him. The *Sunday Times* wrote of the book: 'No other poet can give us the same grave pictorial beauty of the poem which gives its title to the book, alive and mysterious as a portrait by Giorgione,' while the *Weekend Review* asserted 'Mr. Squire must really see to it that we do not that we do not go another five years without poetry from him.'¹⁷ For *Scrutiny*, such uncritical congratulation stifled poetic development and encouraged laziness. Grigson concludes his review: 'reading through it will not weaken the belief these notes may give to any undergraduate after a career, that a milligramme of talent, much-self confidence, and a left-wing "allegiance" can lead to quick advancement in the higher literary gangdom.'¹⁸

For Leavis in particular, Squire's opposition to Modernist poetry was rooted in a lack of critical standards. As evidence, Leavis cites Squire's *Selections from Modern Poets*:

It is of no use asking a poetical renaissance to conform to type. There are marked differences in the features of all those English poetical movements which have chiefly contributed to the body of our "immortal" poetry Should our literary age be remembered by posterity solely as an age during

which fifty men had written lyrics of some durability for their truth and beauty, it would not be remembered with contempt. It is for that reason that I have compiled this anthology.¹⁹

According to Leavis, this unwillingness to apply critical standards had resulted in a horde of Georgians that was nearly impossible to navigate. Unable to see the forest for the trees, Squire had failed to recognise that the Georgian movement had reached its creative apogee and was defensive and condescending when Modernism challenged its conventions. Leavis's reaction to the poetics represented by Squire found its first major expression in *New Bearings* and the decision to reduce English Literature to essentials was sustained throughout the life of *Scrutiny*. This was manifested most poignantly in the 'Revaluation' group of essays, which interrogated the status of established literary figures like Shelley, Milton, and Keats, but also in every review and article on poets and novelists that refused to observe reputation as an indication of canonical merit.

II. The Importance of Life

The Adelphi (1923-55) represented a more adventurous middlebrow readership than the *Mercury*'s. Though it resisted Modernism, it was willing to consider Modernist themes in as much as they addressed the contemporary concern with cultural and spiritual upheaval. Murry, like the middlebrow novelists, saw a restorative function for the magazine. He wrote in the first issue: 'We believe in life. Just that . . . we know it is a precious thing. We have to fight for it. We know it is worth fighting for, the only thing worth fighting for. We fight in our own way with our pens.'²⁰ Belief in life was an intentionally ambiguous concept and Murry was careful not to delimit the possibilities:

For lack of words I have been inaccurate. Belief in life is not, strictly speaking, an idea at all. It is a faith. A moment comes in a man's life when suddenly all the hard things are made plain, when he knows quite simply that there is a good and a bad, that he must fight for the one and make war on the other. And the good things are the things which make for life, and the bad things are the things which make for decay.²¹

Murry's ambiguity can be traced back to *The Criterion*, which had begun one year earlier. Murry initially borrows from Eliot's conception of a magazine composed of contributions with a 'common tendency,' when he writes:

We are not singing the same tune: each is singing his own tune. But they are all people in whom I believe, or in whose work I believe. Therefore, though I should be disappointed if you found a unison, I should yet be more disappointed if you failed to find a harmony. But you must listen for it. It is not, in the nature of things it cannot be, on the surface.²²

Although *The Adelphi* assumed a similar editorial policy to *The Criterion*, its focus on 'life' was engineered in opposition not only to the grave tone of the *Criterion*, but also to the Modernist experimentation that Murry considered 'life denying'. Murry saw the break with previous forms as a refusal to accept the moral, nurturing capacity of art, which was all the more necessary after the first World War. Proust and Joyce had 'buckets of talent,' but 'what's the use of talent except to help you to say something of the importance for life.'²³ In place of the experimentation of Joyce, and even Eliot, Murry proposed writers like his wife, Katherine Mansfield, and his friend, D.H. Lawrence, both of whom were more accessible to middlebrow readers.

Murry should not be confused with Squire, however, and he took pains to define *The Adelphi* against what he called the 'old-guard' in English letters, by which he meant writers of an older generation for whom World War I was not 'a vital and crucial part of their life experience.'²⁴ It is important to recognise that for Murry, 'old guard' is not a term indicating an outdated style, but rather a perspective. Though stylistic differences exist between writers such as Mansfield and Lawrence and older writers like Bennett and H.G. Wells (both whom appeared in *The Adelphi*), the complete rupture with convention that Joyce represented was absent in Mansfield and Lawrence.

As a corollary to the reliance on autobiography in middlebrow fiction, Murry's concern with life manifested itself as a form of biographical criticism, particularly in the cases of Mansfield and Lawrence. Murry's two books of Lawrence criticism, for example, *Son of Woman* (1931) and *Reminiscences of D.H. Lawrence* (1933), exploited the autobiographical link between Lawrence and his fiction, in such a manner that criticism of his life was, at the same time, a criticism of his fiction and vice-versa. While such criticism would have been out of place if applied to a writer like Eliot, it was appropriate to Lawrence, who, compared to other contemporary novelists, was more accessible to a general audience. There is no doubt that Mansfield and Lawrence's fiction represents a shift in perspective from a comfortable, secure world, to one of disruptions and underlying desires and drives—themes consistent with Modernism—but they avoided an avant-gardism that Murry considered 'fashionable, elaborate, and unnecessary,' offering instead, a penetrating prose based on personal experience.²⁵

Moving between the old-guard and the Modernists, Murry was aware of fundamental cultural changes, but refused to pander to Modernist aesthetics; this market

friendly position certainly helped *The Adelphi*'s circulation. In Murry's words, the inaugural issue went 'with a bang': 'after a little space, I was told that *The Adelphi* was selling: that it would have to be reprinted. Then that it would have to be reprinted again, and then again, until it reached a number three times as great.'²⁶ In comparison to *The Criterion*, which had a circulation of 800 despite being a quarterly for a large part of its existence, Murry's monthly had inspired a vast readership at its inception, with a circulation of over 15,000.²⁷

One reason for this is the difference in tone. Instead of being characterised by intellectualised analyses, Murry wrote easy to understand, but intelligent, confessionals. This practice endeared him to his readers and inspired them to submit their own. Murry printed one letter of a recently bereaved widow: 'I was overwhelmed with a sense of the uselessness of this terrible battle for a mere existence. The shadow would not lift. Then I read your article and realised that, after all, I do believe in life, though I thought I did not.'²⁸ One reader, whose 'soul' was 'caught' by an *Adelphi* advertisement—'Deals with the problems of life in its own way'—wandered around London newsagents for days until he found a copy.²⁹

While the middlebrow's prejudices were rejected by *Scrutiny*, the moralism manifested in the *Adelphi*'s preoccupation with 'life' provided *Scrutiny* with a precedent for flouting the high seriousness associated with *The Criterion*. Like Murry, Leavis found much of the *Criterion*'s gravity unnecessary as, despite being 'difficult to speak without respect,' it had 'a certain tendency to substitute solemnity for seriousness.'³⁰ *Scrutiny* rarely refers directly to *The Adelphi*, but its influence can be seen in *Scrutiny*'s preoccupation with 'the individual's response to art and his general fitness for a humane

existence.³¹ While the *Criterion*'s dry objectivity made a passionate morality seem out of place, *Scrutiny*'s subjective moral tone—in literary judgements, in its concern with the plight of civilisation, in its sense of justice in the literary world—was prefigured by *The Adelphi*'s 'fight' for life.

In distinction from his veneration of Eliot's 'impersonal' criticism, Leavis saw the value of Murry's biographical approach. Leavis borrowed from it and reacted against Murry's Lawrence criticism throughout the life of *Scrutiny* and in his later work *D.H. Lawrence: Novelist* (1955). At one point, Leavis was so convinced that the Murry's approach was appropriate for Lawrence that he suspends Eliot's separation between the artist and his/her biography:

I have said elsewhere that [Lawrence] matters because he was a great artist. But the case is not so simple as that might suggest. His art bears a peculiarly close relation to the man—'the man who suffered'—and that is its importance. If we find him great, the supreme importance of his books is perhaps that they assure us he existed. Those of them which are most successful as art are in some ways saddening and depressing.³²

On the whole, Leavis respected Murry's criticism, but when he respected a writer, he was rarely deferential and would often take issue with their work. When considering Murry's *Keats and Shakespeare* (1936), Leavis quotes Murry: 'It is no part of the purpose of this book to appreciate Keats's poems objectively as poetry; its concern is solely to elucidate the deep and natural movement of the poet's soul which underlies them.'³³ Though Murry's biographical approach had once been sufficient for Lawrence, it had limits with Keats; thus a more rigorous analysis was necessary. Leavis writes:

Mr. Murry's purposes are his own; but even without a knowledge of the book one ought to see the danger in this sentence: the elucidations of a poet's soul that are not controlled by the literary critic's attention to poetry will hardly, whatever they may be worth, turn out to be concerned wholly, or even mainly, with the soul of the poet.³⁴

III. Manifestos, Disbelief, and Politics

While in the decade following the publication of *Blast*, journals were often lined up according to their promotion or denigration of the Modernists, by 1925, the order began to change as Eliot's reluctance to committing to a particular programme was adopted by other editors. Though such reluctance had not kept *The Criterion* from association with Modernism, it could keep other magazines from a similar confinement. The Modernists had circumscribed the possible positions a new magazine could take, and after the reaction by Squire and Murry, the division between middlebrow and modernist had effectively reached a dead end.

However, a recoil was emerging, first embodied in *The Calendar of Modern Letters* (1925-27). It lasted for only two years, but ultimately had an impact on the sub-field, not least for providing a scepticism mimicked by *Scrutiny*. In what can be described as an anti-manifesto, the *Calendar* set itself out not as a Modernist or a middlebrow magazine, but as an intensely individualistic publication and assumed that its readers would be as well:

The reader we have in mind, the ideal reader, is not one with whom we share any particular set of admirations and beliefs. The age of idols is past, for an

idol implies a herd—to each literary idol a herd of literary worshippers—and for the modern mind the age of herds is past. For some time after the breakdown of the Victorian religion of great men, disconsolate worshippers sought refuge from the rigour of solitary conviction in a succession of literary chapels, each of which claimed its patron as most efficacious to salvation. Scepticism as to the validity of choice has destroyed the comfort of this ‘exclusiveness’ except for a few simple souls.³⁵

The fact that the *Calendar* had an ideal reader in mind would prove not to be so much of a problem as the journal’s efforts to produce a journal specifically for that ideal. In order to appeal to the sceptical reader, Rickword and Garman took pains to keep the *Calendar* relatively open to possible directions and, following from *The Criterion*, ‘[laid] down no programme as to the *Calendar*’s performance nor prophecy as to its character.’³⁶ A ‘conviction of the value of spontaneous growth (or growth which seems spontaneous to the watching mind) and of unpoliced expression,’ was as near as the journal came ‘to any . . . editorial doctrine.’³⁷ The *Calendar*’s refusal to commit revealed a hesitation between middlebrow demands and the Modernist establishment. This uncertainty was also reflected in the changing print runs. The *Calendar* began as a monthly with a circulation of 7000 to 8000, but it dropped to 2000 within its first year. In April 1926, it changed to a quarterly and its circulation dropped to 1000.³⁸

Criticising practices associated with the middlebrow, Garman articulates that the congratulatory reviewing of literary London is ‘analogous to masturbation, and, continued, would be as conducive to impotence as the unremitting practice of that

habit.³⁹ Garman's use of rhetorical licence was intended to underscore the loss of standards that had resulted from the censorship of 'vigorous' reviewing:

'There is no longer a body of opinion so solid as that represented by *The Quarterly*, *The Edinburgh*, and *Blackwood's*. The fact that they pronounced a vigorous aesthetic creed, and were, therefore, of the greatest benefit to a lovely interest in poetry, is forgotten because they were sometimes ungentlemanly. Their place has been taken, but not filled, by the torrential journalistic criticism which is poured out daily, weekly, and monthly, and is so enlightened and refined that the fulfilment of its obvious function is overlooked in its effort to be open-minded and polite.'⁴⁰

Exactly what this 'function' was, was never uniformly assented to or systematically expounded upon. The *Calendar's* readers would perhaps ascertain through implication that an impolite criticism can fend off the 'rubbishy flow of poetry . . . vomited by publishers,' but the journal as a whole would never admit this point—nor did the writers ever want to do so, as taking a specific position, and being consistent with it, could potentially compromise the 'solitary conviction' they revered.⁴¹ Although the *Calendar* wanted to upset middlebrow tendencies, it never organised according to any focus. By holding so dogmatically to its freedom, it compromised potential subscribers. Thus, after only two and a half years of publication the *Calendar* ended, still maintaining in the last issue its freedom from any particular critical stance:

The most natural step for a review to take, if it wishes to survive, is to adopt a 'political' attitude (one, that is, which implies a tendency to judge by expediency) and, though we realise that such an attitude may be most

essential to the achievement of a sound economic status, we cannot consider it as less than an abuse of function. For, in taking such a step, the freedom to exercise an independent judgement on contemporary work will be lost—not in so gross a sense as commercial obligation, but by the more subtle and more obnoxious distortions required for the continued support of one's own platform.⁴²

The *Calendar* had negotiated the division between Modernists and the middlebrow via scepticism, perhaps indecisiveness, but it had failed to attract a subscription large enough to ensure survival. The division might have been a dead end, but it seemed that a readership needed a particular direction before it would support a journal. By offering an alternative that was opposed to the Modernists and the conservative middlebrow, the *London Aphrodite* (1929-1930) inspired a readership larger than the *Calendar*'s: 3500 copies per issue with a bound reprint of 1500. It would not be easy to maintain such an unstable position and it required, for the first time in a literary magazine since *Blast*, a 'manifesto' to plainly state its intentions: 'We stand for a point of view which equally outrages the modernist and the reactionary. It is certain that J.C. Squire and T.S. Eliot . . . would, if compelled by physical force to read our magazine, heartily (or at least irritatedly) dislike it.'⁴³ In the facetiously titled 'Ex Cathedra' addition to the third number, Lindsay reiterated his position for readers:

Into the slimy and stale waters of "post-war" Modernity we have dropped our spoonful of effervescent saline, and thrice the *London Aphrodite* has arisen from the foam. Behold she is post-post-war, not at all neurotic, tortured, introspectively disgusted, or christian [sic]; but She is Our Lady of

Fecundity, and she bans agony. The Moderns are getting old now. Co-co-corico! They have one foot in the grave and the other on a banana-skin . . . all the *Criteria*s, *Coteries*, *Blasts*, *Damns*, and *Dials* are now no more alive than that wonderful old standby, the *London Mercury*.⁴⁴

Intended to a *Blast* incisively upsetting conventions, it was set to run for only six issues in order to end within only one year of its inauguration. The *Aphrodite*'s position was, like the *Calendar*'s, more Socratic than stative: why must one be Modernist or middlebrow? The *London Aphrodite*'s anti-establishment character was no doubt fuelled by Lindsay's outlook which 'hate[d] nothing so much as the dry cogs of the dry cogs of objectified and objectifying intellect.'⁴⁵ Desiring to reflect an existential, personal relationship with the world in his art, Lindsay saw little in the conservative middlebrow and the experimental Modernists that interested him. Lindsay's artistic productions are perhaps best described as neo-Romanticist, perhaps even Shellyian, typified in a long poem in the second number, 'Joy's Confessional', to be set to a Beethoven Quartet.

The body strung with pain, the nettled air
And spiky stars, the twisted winds, all these
Fade as the beauty gossamer'd by moonlight
Bends though a song.
Let us stroke plumaged quiet, let us dare
This small face powdered with eternities
To peep through mirrors candled in the soul
Into our suffering. Once more I say,
It is not for so long.⁴⁶

From letters he received by readers begging not to be left to Squire and Eliot at the end of the run, Lindsay was aware that his magazine might quickly turn into the institution he despised. As the *Aphrodite* had succeeded in finding an audience tired of the struggle between Modernist and conservative middlebrow, it was now in danger of inspiring a

new position rather than a questioning of one. In 1930, on the last page of the sixth issue, the announcement appeared that despite protests and pledges for support, 'Here ends the *London Aphrodite*.'

Both *The Calendar of Modern Letters* and *The London Aphrodite* played an important role in the formation of *Scrutiny*. Especially in the early 'thirties, Leavis saw *Scrutiny* as an inheritor of the *Calendar*, sharing its sceptical refusal to pander to the tastes of the 'herd', its challenge of reputations, and its acerbic prose. In publicising these practices, Leavis went so far as to edit a selection of *Calendar* articles as *Towards Standards of Criticism* (1933). But while Leavis praised the 'vitality' of the *Calendar*, he was also aware of its short run. If *Scrutiny* was to survive, high critical standards were not enough, and it must, as the *Aphrodite*, declare its intentions and define its reason for existing. When Garman had '[laid] down no programme as to [*The Calendar*]'s performance nor prophecy as to its character,' a readership failed to materialise. Leavis was only too aware that the *Calendar*'s idealised reader did not exist in numbers sufficient to ensure survival:

In England during the last two decades no serious critical journal has been able to survive in the form in which it was conceived; and how many have been able to survive in any form? *The Calendar of Letters* [sic], which deserved the whole-hearted support of the educated, lasted less than three years.⁴⁷

Despite a scepticism similar to the *Calendar*, the *Aphrodite* had thrived by diligently reminding its readers of its intentions. The *Calendar*'s weak reception and the *Aphrodite*'s survival drove home the fact *Scrutiny*'s potential readership would require a

clear perspective. It is no coincidence that while the *Calendar* started with a weak statement at the back of the first issue, *Scrutiny* began with 'A Manifesto' on the second page. Perhaps in deference to the *Calendar*, it opens with the caveat, 'The first number of a review is not, of course, an ideal place in which to discuss the best Method of Conducting a Critical Journal. To do so provides openings for irony, and caution would suggest that we creep into print meekly.'⁴⁸ But, caution was 'impossible' because 'the age is illiterate with periodicals and no ordinary reasons will excuse an addition to the swarm. Policy, as well as honesty, demands that if we imagine ourselves to have a valid reason for existence, we should state it.'⁴⁹

In Lindsay's manifesto, the desire to force Squire and Eliot to read a copy of the *Aphrodite* invoked the dead end of the Modernism versus the conservative middlebrow, but in doing so it also set a tone of condescension and cynicism, rather than offering a lasting alternative. For Leavis, cynicism was premature; literary journals still had an important function to perform.

The general dissolution of standards is commonplace. Many profess to believe (though fewer seem to care) that the end of western civilisation is in sight. But perhaps even the Spenglerian formula, in its deterministic nonchalance, represents an emotional fatalism as much as an intellectual reaction; and if optimism is naïve, fatalism is not necessarily an intelligent attitude. Intelligence has an active function. Those who are aware of the situation will be concerned to cultivate awareness, and will be actively concerned for standards.⁵⁰

Scrutiny's purpose was to arrest the cultural decline by restoring literary standards in an age when Leavis believed that the guardians of standards—the literary journals—were quickly dying out.

The gravity of *Scrutiny*'s manifesto, in comparison to the *Aphrodite*'s (and even *Blast*'s), denotes a serious cultural politics. By trying to check the progression of a perceived social phenomena, *Scrutiny*'s manifesto was unavoidably political, as Leavis is aware: 'where literary criticism is concerned we can be immediately practical and political. The first duty is to publish good criticism judiciously directed. And inseparable from this is a conscious critical policy, if anything is to be affected in the present stand of culture.'⁵¹ One effect of 'political' criticism was to politicise literature: if the proper reception of *Ash Wednesday* justified initiating a movement, it must have an extra-literary value. The manifesto claims: 'the arts are more than a luxury product [T]hey are "the storehouse of recorded values" and in consequence . . . there is a necessary relationship between the quality of the response to art and [the] general fitness for a humane existence.'⁵² But if literature had a political value it was indirect. *Scrutiny*'s view of literature was 'political' only in its promotion of literature as a moral force for social change.

Scrutiny's position was not that literature was influenced by political movements or that it represented them, but that it reflected and exercised cultural and ethical values. Literature, in Leavis's formulation, was primary: 'politics' as such, only emerged when trying to change society through literature. The failure of the *Calendar* had shown that rather than attempting to realign the middlebrow to such ends, *Scrutiny* (and *English in Schools* as well as *The Use of English*) would be better off converting

potential middlebrow readers before they could resist or mitigate its social prescriptions. Hence, Leavis relied on teachers to promulgate the *Scrutiny* movement throughout primary and secondary education. Of course, it is impossible to know the reading habits of each individual reader, but given the less than orthodox use of *Scrutiny* in schools, *Scrutiny* was not completely successful within its own uncompromising terms; conversely, given the strength of Leavisism in later years, *Scrutiny*'s 'political' activism was not a failure either.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Left, The Right, and the 'Outlaw'

Scrutiny's explicit use of the word 'political' anticipated the coming Marxist discourse in the sub-field of the 1930s. In varying degrees, an increasing number of left thinking writers viewed literature and criticism as similar to propaganda—manifestations of the ideology governing their production. As an extension of this logic, the literature and criticism promoted by the Marxist magazines was often engineered to be simple in order to be easily consumed by the proletariat; to write above its level could be considered indulging in a bourgeois pastime.

While the Marxist critique of capitalism no doubt appealed to 'Scrutineers', the correlation between literature and propaganda and the pursuit of the proletariat was in tension with a magazine intended to guide a cultural elite. In a retrospect accompanying the 1963 CUP reissue, Leavis defined *Scrutiny* in opposition to the Left: 'This was the hey-day of the Marxising literary intellectual. We were anti-Marxist—necessarily so (we thought); an intelligent, that is a real, interest in literature implied a conception of it very different from any that a Marxist could expound and explain.'¹ Leavis's overstatement implies an insecurity. Challenged by a clear and radical Marxist polemic, *Scrutiny*'s resistance to the literary market seemed feeble in comparison. Certainly the Marxist solution went much further than *Scrutiny*'s as it called for a total political and social re-

ordering, rather than the mere reinstatement of critical standards. Unable to compete with the general Marxist argument, *Scrutiny* defended its authority by opposing what it argued was the Marxist insensitivity to great literature.

Literature . . . mattered; it mattered crucially to civilization, of that we were sure. It mattered because it represented a human reality, an autonomy of the human spirit, for which economic determinism and reductive interpretation in terms of the class war left no room. Marxist fashion gave us the doctrinal challenge.²

Leavis's consideration of Marxism as a 'doctrinal challenge' points to an 'established' status that was, in fact, less than secure. As Bourdieu argues for producers observing the ideals of restricted production, to not be 'new' is to be 'outmoded,' and thus, potentially, irrelevant. In order to avoid being perceived as an establishment, *Scrutiny* was projected as an 'outlaw' journal that was continually on the offensive, separated from metropolitan literary culture, and that disavowed the marketplace.

I. From Men of Letters to Men of the Party

In *The Thirties and After*, Stephen Spender writes: 'the thirties was the decade in which young writers became involved in politics. The politics of this generation were almost exclusively those of the Left.'³ Spender was in a position to know: a one time leftist writer, he was even a member of the Communist Party for a short period. Expounding the reasons why writers of the post-war generation turned to the Left, Spender is careful to note the precedence of an 'underlying left-wing orthodoxy among writers,' from the days of the Fabian Society to World War I.⁴ Spender also recalls that

for some university undergraduates, a latent concern with politics was instilled in them by their school masters. One master, Geoffrey Thorp, who

was a member of the avant-garde, Bohemian, leftist 1917 club, an ardent socialist, had progressive views about education, sex, art, health foods, etc., was an atheist, derided every conformism. He brought with him the gust of a new world which blew through the schoolroom when he entered it. As a result of his being there, three of four boys who were friends of mine became politically socialist.⁵

The stifling drudgery of rules and routine imposed by an often authoritarian headmaster could also bring about a change in perspective. As Auden wrote: 'The best reason I have for opposing Fascism is that at school I lived in a Fascist state.'⁶

The rise of Fascism in inter-war Europe was a major formative influence on the British Left. By 1922, Mussolini had gained control of Italy and established himself as dictator, while Hitler did the same a decade later in Germany. Fascism had also migrated further west in the 1930s with the founding of Mosley's British Union of Fascists in England and Jeunesses Patriotes, the Solidarité Française, and the Croix de Feu in France. With the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 between a leftist majority, and an army outfitted with Italian and German guns and bombs, one had to determine the strength of his or her convictions. Many writers in the thirties considered Spain an international war and realised that they would rather be Socialists (or Communists) than Fascists.

With Chamberlain's policy of non-intervention there was to be no assistance from the British government; it was up to the British Left to help save socialist Spain.

The Left's support came in a variety of forms, from a boycott of port on account of Portuguese support for Franco, contributing to a medical fund, to 'Portraits for Spain'—a scheme which amounted to painting portraits for a fee and giving some of the money to a relief fund. Many writers chose to go even further and joined the International Brigade, a non-governmental militia composed of militant Communists, would-be Communists, members of the Labour party, and Anarchists fighting against Franco. The Brigade was fighting a war against superior forces and took heavy casualties, losing almost a quarter of the two thousand volunteers that left for Spain. Some of the writers who went included George Orwell, Ralph Fox, Julian Bell, Auden, Spender, Charles Donnelly, and John Cornford. Of these, only three survived the war. Despite the disbelief that inevitably followed defeat, Spain made publicly explicit a change that had already occurred in the minds of many literati. Writing was no longer a job that paid the bills, a devotion to a particular aesthetics, or a supervision of public taste. Men of letters became men of the party and writing and reviewing was seen to be ideological; art, now unavoidably political, became propaganda.

As a new position in the sub-field, Marxism offered producers like Edgell Rickword and Jack Lindsay a means beyond their anarchic scepticism. Rickword, who had been editor of the freethinking *Calendar of Modern Letters* only a decade earlier, became an editor of the *Left Review* and *Our Time*. Likewise, Jack Lindsay, gave up his waspish refusal to commit to the Modernists or the old-guard for the certain propaganda of Communism. Subject to field dynamics, the Leftist journals were defined by their position with regard to each other and there was a significant difference between the simplified Marxism of the *Left Review* and the more complex outlook of *Our Time*.

II. To the Left, to the Right

In 1934, the *Left Review* replaced *Viewpoint* as the mouthpiece of the pro-Soviet ‘Writers International’ in Britain. The *Left Review* opened its first issue by offering an uncompromising challenge to other producers in the sub-field: ‘You are either with us or against us: and if you are with us, you will recognise that the principal function of writers today is to “use their pens and their influence against the Imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union.”’⁷ The *Left Review* also distinguished itself from the avant-gardism that had followed 1914. What had been treated as a revival of English literature and letters in the *Criterion* and *Scrutiny*, was for the *Left Review*:

a crisis of ideas in the capitalist world . . . not less considerable than the crisis in economics The decadence of the past twenty years of English literature and the theatre cannot be understood apart from all that separates 1913 and 1934. It is the collapse of a culture, accompanying the collapse of an economic system. There are already a number of writers who realise this; they desire and are working for the ending of the capitalist order of society.⁸

The *Left Review* took Marxist principles at face value. For example, Lenin’s famous maxim ‘art must serve propaganda,’ became ‘What is this extraordinary thing called art if it is not propaganda?’⁹ These words were written by Eric Gill, who was replying to a critique of an exhibition of ‘Artists International’—the visual arts’ version of ‘Writers International’—that had appeared in *The Catholic Herald*. The *Herald*’s critic had highlighted the propagandistic nature of the artwork by implying that it was more propaganda than art. Gill responded with the rhetorical equivalent of a sledgehammer,

collapsing any distinction between art and propaganda. According to Gill, sculptures in 'medieval cathedrals and modern churches' were as much propaganda as sculptures of statesmen. Even the Royal Academy exhibition was propaganda for 'the bourgeois culture of modern England,' as was Van Gough's 'Yellow chair' propaganda 'for values of simple people and simple things.'¹⁰

The simple line taken by Gill informed most *Left Review* contributions. It was recognised in the *Scrutiny* movement that not every teacher and student would understand complex critical prose—hence the satellite journals for school use—but, as an ideal, *Scrutiny* worked to establish an aesthetic elite by 'educating up' in schools and adult education centres. The *Left Review* pursued a very different ideal. According to the contributor Alec Brown, the magazine had only 'one end in view, the revolutionary end of establishing a socialist republic, that is a working class democracy,' which meant, consequently, a need to be understood by the working-classes.¹¹ Problematically, many *Left Review* writers were recruited from the middle classes and, however much they tried to suppress their upbringing, they still might have bourgeois proclivities, which Brown saw as a tendency to write above working-class comprehension. Therefore, from its very inception, the *Left Review*, according to Brown, should commit itself to

a permanent propaganda committee, to work towards . . . the proletarianisation of our outlook (of those who have bourgeois origins in our work)—and during the initial period of our magazine, most important, to carry on rigorous contemptuous criticism of all highbrowism, intellectualism, abstract rationalism and similar dilettantisms.¹²

But if these bourgeois manifestations were in direct opposition to working class readers, what then of English Literature which, before educational reforms, was beyond the reach of many illiterate working-class readers? For Brown, the answer was simple:

‘LITERARY ENGLISH FROM CAXTON TO US IS AN ARTIFICIAL JARGON OF THE RULING CLASS; WRITTEN ENGLISH BEGINS WITH US.’¹³

Though it is not certain if the *Left Review* ever set up a propaganda committee, it did promote a new literature. If this new literature was not written by the working class, it constantly kept it in view. Welcoming submissions from the proletariat, particularly contributions regarding work, a number of the *Left Review* would often contain a description or poetic comment of working conditions under the burden of capitalism. One contribution, ‘By the Dancing Needles’, is a two-page story, which details a conversation between machiners who, ‘with bent backs, poured over their work, as though in hunched homage to a god,’ and do little more than discuss the death of ‘Danny’, who died of overwork and poor health care.¹⁴ Another contribution, ‘Clerks Wanted’, tells the experience of a man attending a college for clerks who is distracted by the bustle around him. While not stories in the sense of a developing plot or characterisation, they are successful as descriptive vignettes of the everyday experiences of workers. Poetry was often contributed by intellectuals who had become Communists. Jack Lindsay, who had in the past written poems like *Joy’s Confessional*—‘Across the flowers hung with ribbons of the wind,/Those beads of sweetness on the bosomed air’—was now writing poems that would have easily been approved by Brown’s propaganda committee. One poem, ‘Not English? a Reminder for May Day’ asked

Who are the english,

According to the definition of the ruling-class?
All you that went forth, lured by great-sounding names
which glittered like bubbles of crystal in your eyes
till they burst and you burst with them, shot to shreds
from one end of the shuddering earth to the other end,
shot that the merchants pockets might clink and bulge
shot that hoardings of imperial size
might fill each blank space of the motor-roads
with pink-whore faces beckoning the bankrupt to buy—
you are the english,
your ruling class has said it.¹⁵

If the *Left Review* had at any point laid claim to a perspective informed by more than the party line, it was under Edgell Rickword's editorship in 1937. By soliciting contributions from Auden, Spender, C. Day Lewis, and Pablo Neruda and essays on Shakespeare, Swift, and Spenser, Rickword tried to expand the often reductive focus of the magazine.

Our Time (1941-49) supported a more nuanced view of culture, as well as providing a platform for organisations designed to foster working class participation in the arts (including the British Drama League, the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, the Worker's Music Association, the Worker's Film Association, and the Unity Theatre). With a circulation of 15,000, it certainly had a wide readership. Produced for more culturally aware members of the working classes and other more sophisticated readers looking to engage with Marxism, *Our Time* showed what was possible in Marxist scholarship that had a greater degree of complexity than had been allowed in the *Left Review*. 'A Shelter Nightmare of 1871', by F.D. Klingender, for example, traces the development of political caricature, particularly in the work of French cartoonist Daumier. Beginning with a quote from the historian Michelet—'Causes cannot make headway unless one finds a striking formula which opens all

eyes'—Klingender offers the thesis that periods of significant development in caricature coincide with political revolutions. Though outside the domain of more orthodox scholarship, Klingender's erudite analysis demonstrated what was possible when popular artefacts were taken seriously.¹⁶ In the place of the *Left Review*'s more dogmatic claims, a more *Our Time* offered a more nuanced polemic. If Gill was content with claiming that all art was propaganda, *Our Time* contributor Peter Settle made the claim that 'the Red Army is not only a fighting force; it is also a cultural force' and went about demonstrating the ways in which art was for used for propaganda in the Soviet Union. Settle even admitted that artists like 'Shakespeare, Purcell, Hogarth, Constable, [and] Blake . . . revolutionised the culture of the world,' without claiming that they were necessarily propagandists.¹⁷

That *Our Time* could identify Shakespeare as an artist, rather than claiming that he created a 'jargon of the ruling class,' denoted a significant departure. Rickword's editorship in 1944 was, without doubt, one of the catalysts that brought this about. One essay Rickword accepted for publication in a series on 'Intellectuals in the Modern World' was by David Holbrook, 'The Student of Literature', which promoted a position that was descriptively Marxist and critically sensitive at the same time. Supplanting the concept of 'artistic personality in isolation as the essential factor in creating art,' Holbrook formulated what was to become a founding tenet for Marxist literary criticism in the years to come, when he declared that 'The creative act is a social one, and the poem, the novel and the play have a social existence.'¹⁸ Holbrook recognised an 'English literary tradition' and was even willing to draw on writers that Brown would characterise as bourgeois in his promotion of the prophesied cultural revolution: 'The

new social forces demand new writing. Only a critical atmosphere “of which the creative power can profitably avail itself” (Matthew Arnold’s words) can bring such new writing of any significance and stamina, into being.’¹⁹

Perhaps because of its synthesis of Marxist thought and what was construed as bourgeois criticism, the type of thinking that Holbrook’s essay represented was not well received by the Communist party, which was intimately connected to the magazine. Rickword invited further scandal when writing an essay presenting Hazlitt as a revolutionary political writer, who:

did not approach politics in a formal, party spirited way. The basis of it was the sense that general right must have precedence over particular privilege. But he understood the mixed nature of men as they actually are and did not believe that the alteration of political institutions would automatically usher in the Millennium.²⁰

Rickword departed from the predictable, simple party line and in 1947 was subsequently summoned to a meeting with Emile Burns, the cultural spokesman of the party, and Douglas Garman, his fellow editor from the days of *The Calendar*, whereupon he was invited to resign from his editorship.

While, in retrospect, Leavis claimed that *Scrutiny* was ‘anti-Marxist—necessarily so,’ its resistance was not always so emphatic and, in the early stages, Leavis sympathised with Marxist aims. Writing in 1933, Leavis himself admitted to agreeing ‘with the Marxist to the extent of believing some form of economic communism to be inevitable and desirable, in the sense that it is to this that a power-economy of its very nature points, and only by a deliberate and intelligent working towards it can civilization

be saved from disaster.’²¹ Holding that profiteering had damaged literary production, *Scrutiny* was well poised to absorb the Marxist challenge to capitalist values. Leavis’s capitulation, however slight, betrays an awareness of this potential. Indeed, as he remarked, the *Scrutiny* movement was itself aimed ‘at fostering in schools and in education generally, and an anti-acquisitive and anti-competitive bent.’²² In the inaugural issue, G. Lowes Dickinson gave *Scrutiny*’s least qualified sanction of Marxism, writing: ‘Russia, in spite of agonies, cruelties and follies is blazing the right path for the world. The economic system she is determined to establish is the right one; it is the means which she has been compelled to adopt that are wrong.’²³ Dickinson’s assertion is the closest a *Scrutiny* contributor came to endorsing Marxism. *Scrutiny* was notorious for remaining politically aloof after Leavis became an editor and the inclusion of Dickinson’s article in *Scrutiny* is a phenomenon best explained by Leavis’s absence from the editorial board. When Leavis became an editor by the third issue, he was careful to assert in an editorial not only that *Scrutiny* was reticent to ‘show [its] colours,’ but also that *Scrutiny* was preoccupied with different concerns than the Marxist.²⁴ Significantly, Dickinson was never again to contribute an article and Russia was never again held up as a positive example.

Scrutineers seriously doubted that Marxists pursued the disinterestedness that *Scrutiny* went to pains to project. Upon reviewing G.V. Plekhanov’s combative polemic, *The Role of the Individual in History* (1898; English trans, 1940), L.C. Knights questions the accusative language:

Plekhanov’s essay is not merely to deny a charge but to ‘expose’ a
‘slandorous argument’; it ‘delivered a crushing blow’ . . . and three times in

eight lines we are told that it 'shattered'—once 'utterly'—various anti-Marxist arguments Confronted with such fundamentally self-distrustful aggressiveness we are reminded not of Marx but—Lord, hear my earnest cry an' pray'r/ Against that presbyt'ry o' Ayr—of Holy Willy.²⁵

Certainly *Scrutiny*'s trepidation was justified in some sense with Rickword's emasculation. Indeed, fourteen years before it happened, in 1933 Leavis had nearly predicted the event when he complained in *Towards Standards of Criticism* that the 'freedom to exercise an independent judgement' declared in the *Calendar*'s valediction was 'surrendered to the Marxist conclusion.'²⁶

While *Scrutiny* does not often refer directly to the *Left Review* or *Our Time*, that Leavis would describe *Scrutiny* as 'necessarily' 'anti-Marxist' demonstrates the pervasive influence of the Marxist contingent in the sub-field of literary magazines. Directed primarily against the literary market in the first two years of the magazine's publication, *Scrutiny*'s stringent disinterestedness or 'standards' were applied to Marxism as it gained more currency within the sub-field.²⁷ *Scrutiny*'s disinterestedness was a rallying point for a cultural elite and its application to the various manifestations of Marxism was, by implication, an elitist challenge to a less rigorous movement. A good example of this was *Scrutiny*'s handling of the Left Book Club, which started in 1936. With over 50,000 members at the height of its popularity, the books chosen by the club for publication (often sympathetic to Communism) were ensured a wide, often uncritical, reception. At least that is what H.A. Mason feared. Mason wrote: 'No one could know if confined to L.B.C. material that Russia was anything but an example to admire, or that our liberties, such as they are, compare favourably with those enjoyed

there.’²⁸ Mason’s solution—‘what the L.B.C. stands most in need of is a stricter maintenance of the standards they profess’—though predictable, was coherent with *Scrutiny*’s disinterestedness.

Believing that an unquestioning Marxism dismissed literary complexities, *Scrutiny* challenged Marxist certainties. For example, in ‘Shakespeare and Profit Inflation’, L.C. Knights questioned claims (like Eric Gill’s) that literature is propaganda for ruling political and economic ideologies. Knights asserted that even for social plays in the seventeenth century, ‘none of them we notice is a dramatisation of an economic problem or consciously intended as propaganda for this or that form of economic organisation, and only a few of them . . . are meant to make the audience think about questions of social morality.’²⁹ If art was more than propaganda, it was also more than the sum of economic influences. Leavis, for example, while having acknowledged that popular nineteenth-century culture was connected to ‘economic necessities’, was quick to point out that it was that same popular culture that ‘destroyed the organic community. And what survives of cultural tradition in any important sense survives in spite of the rapidly changing “means of production”.’³⁰

Scrutiny was interested in preserving the nuances that it believed Marxist cultural formulas overlooked. It could hardly afford affiliation with a movement that in its extremities was willing to throw out literature ‘from Caxton to us,’ or, even in its moderation, appropriated Arnold in the defence of ‘new writing.’ It did not help that ‘proletarian literature’ was often propagandistic and, according to William Empson, generally ‘bad’ and must for the Russians be quite boring; not unlike subjecting a Tory audience to ‘Tory’ art.³¹ One reviewer went even further in asserting that, despite the

uncertainty associated with producing in a capitalist system, compared to the Soviet artist, 'the painter or poet is much better off in Western Europe.'³² In the opinion of the reviewer, while Lenin and Trotsky had 'let art alone,' under Stalin, Soviet art had been devastated by totalitarian, 'ham-handed' methods, which ensured that artistic output matched party prescriptions.

Perhaps ironically, then, *Scrutiny*'s rejection of Marxism has been condemned by Marxist apologists as crude, reductive, and reliant on polarisations—and there certainly is evidence to support this.³³ For example, L.C. Knights's negative review of *The Role of the Individual in History*—a book first published in 1898—set up a historical straw-man rather than engaging with contemporary Marxism. But, regardless of the fact that *Scrutiny* sometimes resorted to caricature, radical Marxists often left themselves open to lampoon—as in the case of Left Reviewers Eric Gill and Alec Brown.³⁴ For *Scrutiny*, Marxism functioned in much the same way as Wellek had, by providing an opportunity to re-state and define its own positions. Thus, often attending its criticisms would be an admonition for standards, a promotion of the critical function, and an explication of the ethical aspects of art. Furthermore, if *Scrutiny* was 'anti-Marxist', it was not belligerently so. It is important to note that *Scrutiny* never denounced Marxism with the vehemence that it had the publishing industry and even (with the caveat that it was not official opinion) allowed Marxists to make their case.³⁵ In the instances that *Scrutiny* could be seen overstate its 'anti-Marxism', it was not out of spite, but in order to define an agenda. Had *Scrutiny* merely been anti-Marxist, its influence in the sub-field would have been negligible as was the case with the *Right Review*.

It is easy to think of the *Left Review* and *Our Time* as renegades in conspicuous opposition to capitalist Britain; indeed, the *Left Review* certainly promoted itself in such a way. However, as organs of Communist associations, there was a level of support that allowed them to become part of a leftist/socialist establishment and to receive contributions from important writers. Because of the prominence of Marxism, it was possible to position oneself in radical distinction from the leftist magazines. Count Potocki of Montalk, a 'Polish Royalist,' started *The Right Review* (1934-47) in obvious, ironic antagonism to the *Left Review*. While the *Left Review* might have been located at the edge of establishment, as a derivative, the Fascist *Right Review* was even further out on the fringe.

The British Union of Fascists had found a small political base in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and East London, with a combined membership of around 40,000 by 1934, but it ultimately failed to develop into a major political force. There was also a readership for Fascist texts like *Mein Kampf* and *La Mia Vita*, which had been translated into English and reprinted numerous times. By 1936, for example, *My Struggle* (trans. 1933) went through sixteen impressions.³⁶ Potocki, however, was unable to attach himself to the small political base and as a result never enjoyed such success. The lack of any real support was manifested in the poorly-set and blurry type, the flimsy covers, and the small number of pages. A Fascist vanity publisher, Potocki not only serialised his own 'Kampf'—*Whited Sepulchres: Being an Account of My trial and Imprisonment For a Parody of Verlaine and Some other Verses*—but regularly vented his hatred of the Left, and argued that Fascism was the only possible antidote for Stalinist tyranny.

Though few listened to his often shrill diatribe, it made an impact with one *Criterion* reviewer:

The Right Review is a very different kettle of fish altogether. It is not so well printed as *The Left Review*, and it does not draw on the same range of established writers, but it is in other respects a far more interesting production. It appears to be produced rather as a gesture of defiance than anything else: defiance of Catholics, Communists, Jews, Legal Administration, anti-Monarchists and Mr. Rickword On the face of it, one would say that the prose and the policy are so absurd and so impracticable that the Count might be a paid puppet of the Left. But his ideas are not all so foolish as they look, and his incidental criticisms are pungent and salutary, expressed with wit and vigour Merely as a curiosity it should be seen.³⁷

Aldous Huxley felt that the magazine should have a higher status than curiosity, however, and helped Potocki purchase a printing press in order to 'lift the lid off [his] coffin,' on the grounds that Potocki had 'as much right to live and to try to persuade men of the rightness of [his] views, as any other author.'³⁸ By printing the review himself Potocki was able to remain solvent such that, in 1938, he was able to write under the heading 'Obituary': 'The Left Review having found itself unable to sustain comparison with The Right Review, has ceased publication. R.I.P.' The financial benefit of having his own press meant that Potocki was able to continue until long after Fascism had proved itself bankrupt.

If *Scrutiny*'s position within a sub-field of literary magazines has been overlooked by numerous commentators, some of the fault resides with *Scrutiny* itself. Indeed, if it is easy to conceive of *Scrutiny* as separated from other journals, it is in part because *Scrutiny* projected itself as such. Leavis declared in the CUP retrospect, 'We who founded *Scrutiny* could have no illusions. It was an outlaws' enterprise, and we were kept very much aware of that from the outset to the close.'³⁹ *Scrutiny* was certainly resisted in some circles, but was it an outlaw? If *Scrutiny*—a journal with a movement and a readership—was an outlaw, what was *The Right Review*? A journal without any real bearings of its own other than a viscous opposition to a relatively marginal movement, *The Right Review* had much more claim to the title of outlaw than *Scrutiny*.

III. *Scrutiny* as Outlaw

By the 1950's, *Scrutiny* had become an establishment, a status demonstrated with the emergence of *Essays in Criticism* in 1951 as a corrective to *Scrutiny*'s perceived ahistoricism. Leavis's notice of *Essays in Criticism* points to one of the reasons its position within the sub-field has been overlooked:

Essays in Criticism, one gathered at the outset, was to be, in a positive way, a criticism of *Scrutiny*. *Scrutiny* was lacking scholarship: the new quarterly from Oxford would show us how a critical vigour not inferior to *Scrutiny*'s might, as it should, be combined with true scholarly precision . . . I can only, with a whole and very regretful sincerity, report that we have not as a matter of fact felt ourselves challenged or rivalled by *Essays in Criticism*; that we have not at any time found its pages characterised by such notable

examples of scholarly or critical or scholarly-critical practice as might call forth the blush of shame and stimulate us to higher endeavours.⁴⁰

Even when *Scrutiny* had become the standard for defining other journals, Leavis was still attacking and seeking to set *Scrutiny* apart. Though *Scrutiny*'s judgements 'have been accepted and now pass as the current as what has always been known,' it was only 'after what was often the most indignant resistance in the world of literary fashions.'⁴¹

Leavis set *Scrutiny* as a separated adjudicator, but by doing so it ultimately became implicated in the sub-field. Attempting to protect *Scrutiny* from pretenders, Leavis writes of Bateson: 'in the field in which he has offered himself as the stringent and pioneering representative of discrimination, it is *Scrutiny* that has done the work.'⁴²

What is perhaps most significant in this statement is that while arguing for the disinterestedness of *Scrutiny*, Leavis admits that both are competing in the same 'field.'

Scrutiny was the first journal associated with academic literary criticism that had an impact on the sub-field of British literary magazines. There had been British academic journals dedicated to English Studies before—and soon after—the launch of *Scrutiny*, such as *The Review of English Studies* (founded in 1925), which had offered space to both philologists and literary critics; *Essays and Studies* (founded in 1910), which was an organ of the English Association and was intended for the academic development of English Studies; and, *English*, another journal of the English Association (founded in 1936). However, the primary function of these journals was to give a broad sample of current academic work and they had little discernible impact on other literary magazines. In theory, the journals of the English Association were published in order to promote English Studies, but they lacked any polemical force.

Scrutiny, on the other hand, set out a position for academic literary criticism (and English Studies) that interacted with other literary magazines, by directly referencing the periodicals, by reviewing literary criticism, poetry, and novels, and by taking up a position in judgement of the developments in the sub-field (such as the emergence of Marxism, and the criticism of *The Criterion* and *The London Mercury*). Perhaps most importantly, *Scrutiny* showed that academic literary criticism could perform the role of critical guidance (such as the promotion of Eliot and the censure of Auden) traditionally associated with the public intellectuals like Eliot, Squire, and Murry.

Adding to *Scrutiny*'s academic cachet was its Cambridge address. It is significant that most literary journals of consequence were edited in London, making *Scrutiny* appear as a stranger to the wider sub-field. In the 1930's, literary London operated on close personal relationships: a recommendation from the right person and playing squash and dining at the right club could make or break a career in letters. *The House of Words* (1963), by Lovat Dickson, is a good account of the importance of personal relationships in literary London. Dickson, an English Studies graduate from Canada, came to London at the behest of a wealthy Canadian, Frederic Hammond. Hammond wanted Dickson to edit *The English Review*, which Hammond was interested in purchasing. Though the deal fell through, Dickson was able to ingratiate himself into another review and eventually established his own publishing house through a fortuitous set of London connections, which included literary agents, authors, financiers, and the heads of other publishing firms.⁴³

If success could often depend upon a London address, the practical operation of a journal outside London—soliciting articles for example—could be problematic to say

the least. Criticising British literary culture from Cambridge made *Scrutiny*'s work that much harder; it is hardly a coincidence that *Scrutiny* contributors were almost always students. In a private letter Leavis wrote to Murry of his frustration:

As for injustice, I wish that, when I have an occasion to recognise that I have been unjust, I could always say it was not in utterance But after all, critical injustice matters comparatively little. What really does make me despair is the petty vanity that, working below the level at which you can begin to talk of injustice or justice, seems to have killed all possibility of public critical exchange. You can hardly move without touching off some inflamed ego. I don't know which is worse, the literary or the academic world. But perhaps I'm splenetic: I'm an outsider with regard to both worlds.⁴⁴

Such was also true of *Scrutiny*. Dissociated from metropolitan literary culture, it was not particularly well received at the University. Leavis's frequent attacks on the Faculty had initiated an animosity that never really abated. *Scrutiny* certainly had some student support, but it was hardly sanctioned by the Faculty. Leavis even claimed to Parsons that Tillyard 'intimidated the booksellers into not stocking *Scrutiny*.'⁴⁵ If this was true, there does not seem to be evidence that Tillyard was successful, as ten booksellers in Cambridge sold *Scrutiny* (a not insubstantial number given the relatively small size of the city). However, the Cambridge booksellers sold them in relatively small numbers—on average, only four to five copies were sold.⁴⁶

In the main, London book-shops took up *Scrutiny*'s subscription. Fifty-eight book-shops and newsagents stocked each issue, suggesting perhaps that metropolitan

readers attached a certain value to its Cambridge address. Leavis capitalised on this when, in 1933, he considered producing a *Scrutiny* anthology for Chatto entitled *Cambridge Criticism* (the title was later changed to *Determinations*).⁴⁷ If broad subscription by university libraries is an indication of acceptance in British higher education, *Scrutiny* was not well recognised in national institutions during its life (this would change dramatically with the 1963 reprint). From 1932-1953, only seven universities subscribed to *Scrutiny*, including Bristol, Cambridge, Nottingham, Oxford, University College of South Wales, Cardiff, University College Dublin, and Trinity College Dublin. However, a Cambridge address appears to have helped *Scrutiny*'s international reception. The magazine was regularly distributed to universities in fifteen foreign countries (many were commonwealth countries including Pakistan, India, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia), which, combined, made up nearly half of the addresses where *Scrutiny* was sold.⁴⁸ When *Determinations* was finally published, Leavis was certain to use Cambridge associations to attract an international audience. He writes to Parsons:

If you could get at them without too much trouble, it might be worth circularizing the faculties & departments of the Empire If you thought circularizing worth while here it should be with a list of contents—and a brief description of each—and some phrases intimating that if these come from a university, the university here is, what it should be, an intellectual front?⁴⁹

Gaining full use from the address when CUP reissued the run of *Scrutiny* in 1963, a Japanese bookseller, Maruzen, advertised it as:

The critical review *Scrutiny*, which, as is well known, has attracted a great deal of attention, and was published quarterly by Cambridge University Press under the head editorship of F.R. Leavis from 1932 to 1953, advocated a rigorous and thorough criticism of English Literature from Chaucer to the Second World War. A reprint is now to be offered from the same publishing company.⁵⁰

Though it is possible that Maruzen was being unscrupulous—‘*Scrutiny* was published by the editor who happened to reside in Cambridge’ would not have sold as many books—it is also possible that the bookseller was ignorant of the fact that CUP was not *Scrutiny*’s original publisher. Indeed, *Scrutiny*’s editorial address is not easy to determine from the issues themselves. Perhaps because Leavis was wary of inviting criticism for his influence, in the early years of the journal’s production, *Scrutiny*’s address is listed on the front cover as ‘Deighton, Bell and Co., Ltd., Trinity Street Cambridge.’ Only at the bottom of the last page is it acknowledged that, in fact, ‘*Scrutiny* is published by the Editors, 6 Chesterton Hall Crescent, Cambridge.’⁵¹ He still edited *Scrutiny* from his house at the end of the journal’s life, but Leavis tried to transfer the University’s academic capital to *Scrutiny* by listing the address as ‘Downing College, Cambridge’; unsurprisingly, there is no mention of Chesterton Hall.⁵²

IV. Restricted Advertising

The misleading association with the University evinces *Scrutiny*’s relatively precarious existence. While *Scrutiny* was initially paid for from the Leavises’ own pockets, *The Criterion* was funded by the wealthy patron, Lady Rothermere, and

eventually picked up by Faber and Faber, which absorbed all losses; *The London Mercury* and *The Adelphi*, were able to thrive because of large print runs.⁵³ Furthermore, in comparison with many journals in the field, *Scrutiny*'s mode of production was amateur by comparison. Edited at a private residence by a full time lecturer, printed by the local Cambridge firm S.G. Marshall and Son, and distributed by Deighton-Bell, *Scrutiny* was the result of an uncertain combination of elements, with issues often appearing late or just making it in time to the printers. As Leavis wrote to Parsons: 'Scrutiny is due for December—at least I hope to manage it—the printers are devoted and I think we shall bring the miracle off again, but with all this teaching, etc., its not easy to say.'⁵⁴ While other journals like the *Criterion* and the *Adelphi* placed advertisements in order to increase sales, *Scrutiny* relied on subscribers who thought 'that *Scrutiny* performs an important function to do all the propaganda they can.'⁵⁵

Furthermore, it was run on a non-profit basis, with contributors receiving no payment and all proceeds from its sale ploughed back into its publication. As Leavis pleaded with readers who might be holding back a regular subscription, 'we have economized to the utmost: the rinds were thin enough anyway.'⁵⁶ Such policies not only afforded longevity, but, perhaps more importantly, gave the impression that *Scrutiny* was distinct from economic forces, thereby enhancing its restricted production status. This status was aided by *Scrutiny*'s signature pale-blue, flimsy paper cover.

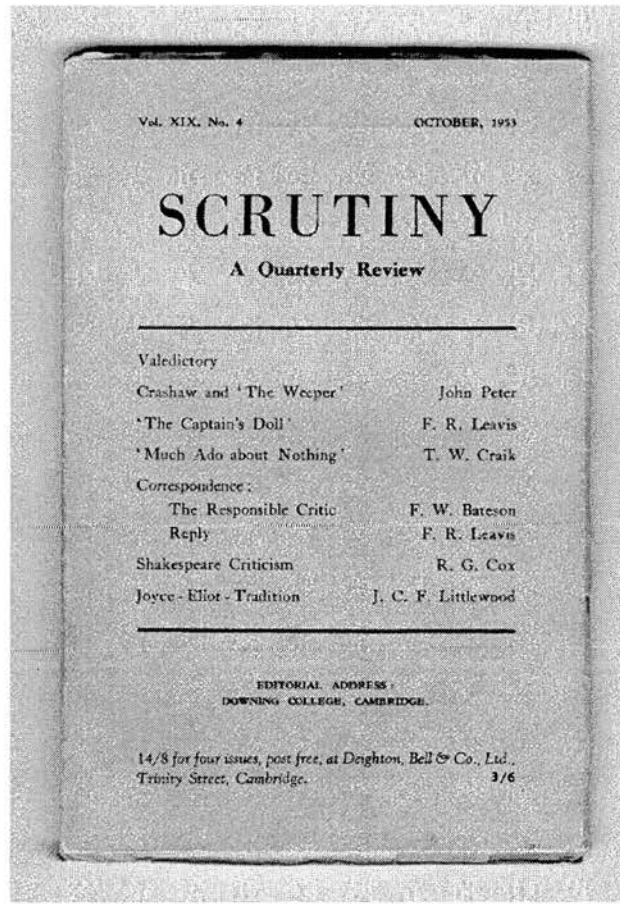


Figure 5.1: *Scrutiny* cover from the last issue. *Scrutiny*, 19 (October 1953).

Informing a new generation of readers of *Scrutiny*'s prestigious resistance, Leavis wrote in the CUP retrospect that, unlike most journals, *Scrutiny* 'had no subsidy (and none in prospect). Indeed, not to be subsidised was a part of the conception.'⁵⁷ This recollection was not indulgent. Ever since *Fiction*, when Q.D.L. had spoken of the 'liberty of speech [being] sold to the advertiser,' the Leavises had been wary of advertising. Indeed, Leavis was sure to point out that 'without any but the most occasional and minimal advertising revenue [*Scrutiny*] has always, after the earliest days, paid its way.'⁵⁸ Given the Leavises equation of marketing with selling out, it is not

surprising that advertisements infrequently appeared and that when they did, they were deliberately simple, were rarely endorsements by *Scrutiny*, and were often heavily moderated. Rather than explicitly supporting *The Criterion*, for example, initially advertisements for the journal in *Scrutiny*—such as the one reproduced in Figure 5.3—were facsimiles of its table of contents. This was very different from the *Criterion*'s marketing in the middlebrow *Adelphi*. After a while, even tables of contents gave way to the plainest of descriptions.⁵⁹ Yet austerity did not negate strategy. Placing the *Criterion* advertisement directly opposite *Scrutiny*'s table of contents can be read as an attempt to borrow from the *Criterion*'s established symbolic capital via association. Upon opening the journal, the *Scrutiny* reader would likely notice the similarities between typefaces and layout.

<p style="text-align: center;">THE CRITERION</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A QUARTERLY REVIEW EDITED BY T. S. ELIOT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">April 1934</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CONTENTS</p> <p>THEODICY AND TRAGEDY THEODOR HAECKER</p> <p>MODERN PROSE STYLE BONAMY DOBREE</p> <p>HELL EZRA POUND</p> <p>BEAUTY DOES NOT LOOK AFTER HERSELF A. J. PENNY</p> <p>CRAWSHAW AND THE BAROQUE STYLE T. O. BEACHCROFT</p> <p>BEN JONSON'S LYRIC POETRY RALPH S. WALKER</p> <p>THE GONG, a Short Story T. F. POWYS</p> <p>POEMS GEORGE BAKER & EDOUARD RODOTI</p> <p>JAPANESE PRIMITIVE W. W. WINKWORTH</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A COMMENTARY BY THE EDITOR</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PUBLISHED BY FABER & FABER, LIMITED 24 RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thirty Shillings per annum 7s. 6d. each issue</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Vol. II. No. 4. March, 1934</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SCRUTINY</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A Quarterly Review</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Edited by D. W. HARDING L. C. KNIGHTS F. R. LEAVIS DENYS THOMPSON</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CONTENTS</p> <table> <tr> <td>EDITORIAL</td> <td style="text-align: right;">page 331</td> </tr> <tr> <td>REVALUATIONS (III): BURNS, by John Spears</td> <td style="text-align: right;">334</td> </tr> <tr> <td>THE SCIENTIFIC BEST SELLER, by J. L. Russell</td> <td style="text-align: right;">348</td> </tr> <tr> <td>THE IRONY OF SWIFT, by F. R. Leavis</td> <td style="text-align: right;">364</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WHAT SHALL WE TEACH? by Denys Thompson</td> <td style="text-align: right;">379</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FLEET STREET AND PIERIAN ROSES, by Q. D. Leavis</td> <td style="text-align: right;">387</td> </tr> <tr> <td>COMMENTS AND REVIEWS</td> <td style="text-align: right;">393</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">ART FOR THE COMMON READER, by J. M. Harding and D. W. Harding (p. 393). MUSIC AND THE COMMUNITY, by Bruce Pattison (p. 399). LIFE'S OLD BOY, <i>Lessons from the Variety of Life</i>, reviewed by W. H. Auden (p. 405). <i>Change in the Farm</i>, reviewed by Adrian Bell (p. 409). CHANGING EMPHASIS IN ANTHROPOLOGY, a review by D.W.H. (p. 411). Madelin's <i>Le Consulat et l'Empire</i>, reviewed by H. Butterfield (p. 413). SATIRE, <i>The Poems of Charles Churchill</i>, reviewed by H. J. Edwards (p. 426). <i>Sense and Poetry</i>, reviewed by Hugh Gordon Porteus (p. 419). <i>Contemporary Literature and Social Revolution</i>, reviewed by Frank Chapman (p. 422). Middleton Murry's <i>Blake</i>, reviewed by T. R. Barnes (p. 425). ELIZABETHAN PROSE, by L. C. Knights (p. 427).</td> </tr> </table>	EDITORIAL	page 331	REVALUATIONS (III): BURNS, by John Spears	334	THE SCIENTIFIC BEST SELLER, by J. L. Russell	348	THE IRONY OF SWIFT, by F. R. Leavis	364	WHAT SHALL WE TEACH? by Denys Thompson	379	FLEET STREET AND PIERIAN ROSES, by Q. D. Leavis	387	COMMENTS AND REVIEWS	393	ART FOR THE COMMON READER, by J. M. Harding and D. W. Harding (p. 393). MUSIC AND THE COMMUNITY, by Bruce Pattison (p. 399). LIFE'S OLD BOY, <i>Lessons from the Variety of Life</i> , reviewed by W. H. Auden (p. 405). <i>Change in the Farm</i> , reviewed by Adrian Bell (p. 409). CHANGING EMPHASIS IN ANTHROPOLOGY, a review by D.W.H. (p. 411). Madelin's <i>Le Consulat et l'Empire</i> , reviewed by H. Butterfield (p. 413). SATIRE, <i>The Poems of Charles Churchill</i> , reviewed by H. J. Edwards (p. 426). <i>Sense and Poetry</i> , reviewed by Hugh Gordon Porteus (p. 419). <i>Contemporary Literature and Social Revolution</i> , reviewed by Frank Chapman (p. 422). Middleton Murry's <i>Blake</i> , reviewed by T. R. Barnes (p. 425). ELIZABETHAN PROSE, by L. C. Knights (p. 427).	
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Figure 5.2: *Criterion* advertisement opposite *Scrutiny* table of contents. *Scrutiny*, 2 (1934).

By no means were *Scrutiny*'s advertising policies representative of contemporary journals. The desire to survive economically enforced relationships between literary magazines and advertisers, sometimes in spite of what the readers thought. Acknowledging a disapproval of advertising in an early issue of *The Adelphi*, Murry writes 'there is a criticism . . . which has been made, if by one, by half a hundred people. Why, oh why, they cry, do you disfigure your cover with an advertisement? And why do you interlard your text with advertisements "facing matter"?'⁶⁰ In the last few pages of each issue, Murry had inserted a page of advertisements between a page of text. Upon

turning the page, the reader was forced to at least glance at the advertisements. Murry's rebuttal was telling:

First of all, I ask them to do me the honour of assuming that I have not done these things for fun, or because I like them in themselves. Then to go one further and suppose that I had some very good and compelling reason for doing violence to my own inclination. Surely they can guess what it is. It is because it is far more important that *The Adelphi* should pay its way quickly than that it should be beautiful to look at. And if, by spoiling the cover and mixing the text with advertisements I can hasten the day when *The Adelphi* is entirely self-supporting, I shall spoil the cover and interlard the text with a good conscience.⁶¹

THE ADELPHI

colossal . . . impossible. Wearily, in a toneless voice, he muttered:

"I wish I could have you to understand, to know what you keep on missing."

She was silent. She seemed to feel the depths of what he had said. He was reflecting that he used to talk, talk, talk about the multiplicity of thoughts and feelings he had experienced in one way and another, and she used to smile and fill in his pauses with incisive "Yeses," until one day he woke up and was horrified to discover that it could only be himself who was enjoying the talk. In one terrible inward flash he saw that she said little more than "Yes." What did that mean? Of course she loved him. But—it was when he said "But" that he realized that he was asking something more. And she had it not. It was then he told himself that she neither saw, heard, nor felt; she was encased in clay, and she was just putting up with "his ways" until they married. Then it would be all right for her. . . . And he trembled on the verge of breaking the engagement, and he thought out every detail, every word of that act. He studied his own and her present and future reactions and—he felt that he could not do it. No, it was almost impossible. It would be cruel. She would not understand. So—he was trapped . . . they were trapped, he concluded.

Out of a world of intuitive imagining, for her as well as himself, after innumerable excursions into widely divergent view-points and processes of valuation, congruous and incongruous, faithful and unfaithful to his "way of life"—he emerged heavy and trembling with a vague pity, an all-embracing pity and compassion, and he kissed her hard on the wondering lips and forgot all, even her, in an unworldly oblivion. Hovering above his lulled mind was the thin consciousness that this phase, like all others, would vanish and leave him

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SUCCESS

in
Free Lance Journalism and Short Story Writing

"I have earned enough to pay your fees and to purchase a typewriter since I joined the A.B.C. Course." This is a testimonial we have recently received from a student who has just completed his fourth issue.

During the last month our pupils have had work accepted by *The Morning Post*, *The Teachers' World*, *Tribune*, *The Amalgamated Press*, *The Sun*, *The Standard*, *The Birmingham Mail*, *The Scotsman*, *The Daily News*, *Sheffield Weekly Telegraph*, *The Scotsman*, *The Irish Times*, *The Daily Herald*, *The Evening Standard*, and other papers.

Free Criticism and Advice.

We are prepared to criticize one manuscript up to 2000 words, article or short story, free of charge and without any obligation on your part. We make this offer in order that anyone who is interested in Free Lance Journalism and Short Story Writing may see what can be done by practical tuition. Criticism will be absolutely candid, and we shall tell you honestly what we think there is in your work. Since the course was established we have aimed at getting results and, unless we believe we can bring a student's work up to publishable standard, we do not accept the application for enrolment. The A.B.C. Writer's Course is fully described in "Woodcraft," a copy of which will be sent post free on request.

THE A.B.C. WRITER'S COURSE (Dept. 274),
34, Paternoster Row, LONDON, E.C.4.

OLIVER Typewriter

—the machine that makes the largest number
of clear carbon copies. Booklet No. 694
describes



NEW MODEL
No. 11

OLIVER TYPEWRITER CO.
LTD.
78, Queen Victoria Street,
LONDON, E.C.4.

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Figure 5.3: Text interlarded with advertisements. *Adelphi*, 1 (1923), pp. 652-653.

Perhaps just as telling of the advertising policy was an advertisement for *The Criterion* on the back cover, appearing much less gravely than in *Scrutiny*. Hardly as elitist, the *Criterion*'s importance was elaborated for the *Adelphi* reader who might not be in the know:

In the seven years of its existence as a review of literature THE CRITERION has published work by the most distinguished authors of every country and every generation . . . The files of THE CRITERION constitute the most nearly complete record in existence of the intellectual life of Europe during

these seven years. THE CRITERION is necessary to anyone who wishes to follow that intellectual and artistic life in the present and the future.⁶²


The division between high and low that *Scrutiny* enforced was never evident in the *Adelphi*. As well as advertisements for *The Criterion* appeared notices for 'Luvisca' pyjamas for men, advertisements for children's books, and 'Sane Sex Books,' a firm quick to disclaim: There are Sex Books *and* Sex Books. For clean, honest, and straightforward information there is only one choice The books do not pander to weakness or prejudice, and cannot possibly be confused with the other kind of literature sold in certain quarters.'⁶³

The London Mercury, as well, regularly featured advertisements, most often for Haig and Haig Five Stars Whisky, 'Whisky with a literary flavour.' One advertisement elaborates: 'of course no Whisky can have a "literary flavour," but Haig and Haig Whisky has a flavour that other Whiskies do not If all stimulants were used moderately, and if stimulants were all of the high-class qualities of Haig and Haig Whisky, there would be no attention paid to screaming prohibitionists' (see Figure 5.5).⁶⁴ In distinction from *Scrutiny*'s cultural abstemiousness, such tolerance was not at all inappropriate for a journal associated with the middlebrow. Closer to home for Leavis, William Empson's undergraduate journal, *Experiment* (1928-31), displayed promotions of the Cunard shipping line, package holidays to Canada, even an advertisement for James Surman noting 'Advertisement is the greatest salesman. It sells silently and cheaply, Let us print your advertisement quickly, cheaply, and efficiently.'⁶⁵

As literary journals reached groups with buying power (particularly the middlebrow journals), it is unsurprising that businesses would advertise in them, and

there was a long history of doing so. As far back as the late nineteenth century (and perhaps even further) journals such as *The Edinburgh Review* sold high culture alongside furnaces and pharmaceuticals. One issue of the *Edinburgh* that was particularly susceptible to medical quackery took notice of ‘Datura Tatula for Asthma and Chronic Bronchitis’. The advertisement suggested the reader take the medication ‘in cigarettes and other forms for smoking and inhalation.’⁶⁶

xx THE LONDON MERCURY



WHISKY

WITH A LITERARY FLAVOUR

When an admirer wrote and asked to be introduced to an Agent who could supply him with one dozen bottles of Haig & Haig, “the Whisky with the fine literary flavour,” he got the assistance that his complimentary letter entitled him to.

Of course no Whisky can have a “literary flavour,” but Haig & Haig Whisky has a flavour that other Whiskies have not; and Haig & Haig take a little more trouble than other Distillers in telling the public what qualities go to give Haig & Haig the distinction that it has in the Whisky world.

- (1) It is much older than other Whiskies.
- (2) It is more “malty” than other Whiskies.
- (3) It is, therefore, more scarce than other Whiskies.
- (4) Consequently it is also dearer than other Whiskies in all markets where free competition is permitted.

If all stimulants were used moderately, and if stimulants were all of the high-class qualities of Haig & Haig Whisky, there would be no attention paid to screaming prohibitionists; and “Local Option” would result (in dry areas particularly) in the most discriminating people, in such areas, endeavouring to get supplies of

**Haig & Haig Five Stars
Scots Whisky**

HAIG & HAIG Ltd.
(Distillers since 1879)
Head Office:
57 Southwark Street,
LONDON - S.E.1.

§ We are only advertising our EXPORT Bottle at present. The Government controls the price of Whisky so that there is no profit in the Home Market.

Figure 5.4: Advertisement for Haig and Haig Whisky. *The London Mercury*, 3 (1921).

In such an environment, literary magazines like *Scrutiny*, which were opposed to business methods, faced particular problems. For example, how was the *Left Review* to pay its way in a capitalist system without participating? One solution was to advertise for Marxist booksellers, such as Collet's Bookshop, 'The Headquarters of the Writers International.' Even then, however, the Left Reviewers could hardly escape capitalist means. One advertisement (appearing as a Collet's advertisement) offered the opportunity to 'Live Selling Lit' in a 'Croft', a cross between a motorcycle and a car, stuffed with shelves of leftist material under the bonnet. 'A paying proposition for *Left Review* readers,' it was 'an attractive way of earning a living and at the same time helping the Left revolutionary movement.'⁶⁷ Of course, as neither the *Left Review* nor Collet's manufactured the Croft, the money from the sale of the Croft went to Modern Transport Facilities, the actual firm being advertised. If the *Left Review* indirectly contravened a moratorium on capitalism, an American socialist magazine, *The Masses*, flaunted it. In one issue it criticised U.S. involvement in Central America and in another it advertised for the Alexander Hamilton Business institute, which billed the Panama Canal as 'The world's greatest short-cut': 'a monumental example of modern business-like methods of doing things—finding the direct route whatever the cost.'⁶⁸

LIVE SELLING "LIT"
 A PAYING PROPOSITION FOR
 "LEFT REVIEW" READERS
£10 FREE GIFT



*this is a reproduction of a model in use in Lancashire THAT HAS
 proved to be an enormous success*

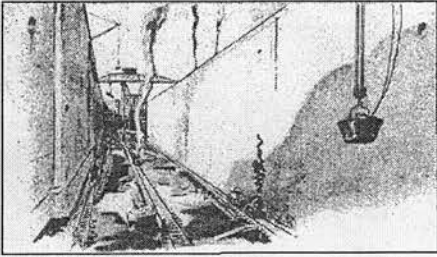
A "Croft" travelling library (£98) makes an attractive way of
 earning a living and at the same time helping the LEFT revolu-
 tionary movement.

We are prepared to help any reader of LEFT REVIEW by giving
 £10 towards the deposit on a Travelling Library; £30 deposit
 (less £10 gift) secures delivery we insure vehicle and spread
 premium in with purchase price; weekly repayments 10s.

write for illustrated list to

MODERN TRANSPORT FACILITIES
 33 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1
 Phone Chancery 7137

Figure 5.5: Advertisement for Modern Transport Facilities. *Left Review*, 1 (1935).



The world's greatest short-cut

The Panama Canal shortens the water route from New York to San Francisco by 8,000 miles.

It establishes a new direct route from London to Australia.

It doubles the efficiency of the United States Navy.

This huge excavation uniting the two Oceans—the dream of centuries realized—is a monumental example of modern business-like methods of doing things—finding the direct route whatever the cost. The built upon a huge scale, the Panama Canal is a simple application of the *short cut* method of business progress.

The Modern Business Course and Service of the Alexander Hamilton Institute is a carefully planned and practically executed *short cut to business knowledge*—a business training that otherwise would take years of long and bitter experience to acquire. You might work a lifetime without gaining more than a smattering knowledge—a little of this and a little of that, with no thoro grasp of anything. Your business knowledge would be “shaky”—not broad enough for a big position.

Based upon the actual experience of the most successful business men

A thousand men's experience, with all the errors, experiments and mistakes eliminated, put into your hands for your own use in business, is the best and most direct *short cut* to success. This is what the Modern Business Course and Service gives you.

Thru this Course and Service, the Alexander Hamilton Institute is training over 40,000 men in America today to be more successful in business. It presents to you the best system and methods in organization and management, in interesting and practical form. It shows you the most successful means of reaching new markets—the most progressive principles and the most up-to-date practice in advertising, business correspondence, credits, corporation finance, accounting, auditing and cost finding. It teaches the broad fundamentals of business.

The kind of men enrolled

Presidents of big corporations are often enrolled for this Course and Service along with ambitious young clerks in their employ. Among the 40,000 subscribers are such men as: H. C. Osborn, President, American Multigraph Sales Co.; Melville W. Mix, President of the Dodge Mfg. Co., a \$1,500,000 corporation; Geo. M. Verity, President of the American Rolling Mills, a \$4,000,000 corporation; William H. Ingersoll, Marketing Manager of the biggest watch company in the world; N. A. Hawkins, General Sales Manager of the Ford Motor Co., and scores of others equally prominent.

“Forging Ahead in Business”

A careful reading of this 128-page book, “Forging Ahead in Business,” copy of which we will send you free, will repay you many times over. It will help measure what you know—what you don't know, and will show you how you can learn to pick out the short cuts along the road to Success. If you feel uncertain of yourself—if you long for bigger responsibilities, power, influence, money—you can get out of this Course and Service a hundredfold what you put in.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON INSTITUTE
328 Astor Place New York, N. Y.

Send me “Forging Ahead in Business” FREE

Name

Business

Address

Position

Figure 5.6: Advertisement for Alexander Hamilton Institute. *The Masses*, November 1916, p. 19.

If even the Marxists made compromises, it stands to reason that *Scrutiny* had little chance of remaining totally sanitary. Regardless of Leavis's vigilance, not every advertiser was willing to concede to *Scrutiny*'s prescribed blandness. Thus, intermittently, the very forces that *Scrutiny* defined itself against found their way into its

paratext. Consider the following advertisement from the second volume of *Scrutiny*, which contains a form of uncritical endorsement that Leavis condemns outright in *Mass Civilisation*:

Heffer's Bookshop on Petty Cury is something more than a mere store where one can buy the latest books Those whose interests are for lighter things will find no lack of the best recently published books on all subjects. But whatever your tastes, you will find the latest issue of 'Heffer's Book Adviser,' giving details of the most important new publications, both interesting and helpful.⁶⁹

Given that Heffer's had a standing order for *Scrutiny* of eighteen copies per issue—four times the number of any other Cambridge bookseller—the appearance and un-Leavisite content of the advertisements is perhaps more than a coincidental oversight. Although such concessions were sometimes necessary for the sake of solvency, they were uncommon. It is a testament to Leavis's management and *Scrutiny*'s popularity that such panegyrics appeared so infrequently. Indeed, for a period of seven years (1942-49), almost the only advertisements to be included were for the printer and for the journal's distributor. While in its method of production *Scrutiny*'s attempt to create a critical organ that was seen to be separate from the market was largely successful, when it came to distribution this appearance was more difficult to sustain: it was in the very railway bookstalls of W.H. Smith, which Q.D.L. denounced so vehemently in *Fiction*, that *Scrutiny* sold in the largest numbers, over sixty copies per issue.⁷⁰

CHAPTER SIX

The Second Moment of *Scrutiny*

However infrequent, *Scrutiny*'s compromises serve to reveal a relationship with the market that is far more complex than a straightforward opposition. Through *Scrutiny*'s successful negotiation of the sub-field of literary magazines, the use of its concepts in primary and secondary education, and its representations of critical and economic disinterest, *Scrutiny* made it possible for the name Leavis to accrue a large amount of symbolic capital. In fact, *Scrutiny* was so closely associated with its primary editor that it became standard practice for authors to mention Leavis whenever the journal was under consideration. When CUP reissued *Scrutiny*, for example, reviews with titles like 'A Monument to a Great Critic' were common.¹ As this chapter will demonstrate, in order to transform this prestige into economic profit and to aid the spread of his reputation, Leavis published his *Scrutiny* essays in formats that encouraged wider consumption. By publishing books under the Chatto and Windus (and Penguin) imprint and reissuing *Scrutiny* under the CUP crest, Leavis was able to profit from the drive for university expansion and to see the broad institutionalisation of his critical concepts. However, as his reputation was absorbed beyond the confines of restricted production, Leavis attempted to recover a measure of control by disavowing (to his publishers) the market that he had himself pursued.

I. 'Forking Out': From Minority to Chatto

The Minority Press followed the Leavises' separatist prescriptions to such a degree that the texts it printed gained very little public or economic recognition. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Leavis sent his *Scrutiny* essays to the commercial publishing house, Chatto and Windus. By publishing with Chatto, Leavis was ensured a far wider audience than either *Scrutiny* or the Minority Press could provide.

Furthermore, as Chatto published other critics who were associated with Cambridge English—like Tillyard, Empson, and Donald Davie—the publishing house was a good choice for a critic seeking to associate his name with the School.

However, in Leavisite terms, Chatto's publishing record was a mix of the literary and the best-seller. The firm had a history of publishing writers like Edgar Allan Poe, Bret Harte, Wilkie Collins, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and Robert Louis Stevenson, along with authors with more highbrow reputations such as Marcel Proust and Thomas Hardy. Situated at the borders of restricted production, conflating high with low, the 'great' with the popular, Chatto contributed to the problems perceived by the Leavises. But, according to Bourdieu, such concessions are not necessarily incompatible with restricted production:

The disavowed economic enterprise of art dealers or publishers, 'cultural bankers' in whom art and business meet in practice . . . cannot succeed, even in economic terms, unless it is guided by a practical mastery of the laws of the functioning of the field in which cultural goods are produced and circulate, i.e. by an entirely improbable, and in any case rarely achieved,

combination of the realism implying minor concessions to 'economic' necessities that are disavowed but not denied and the conviction which excludes them.²

Whereas the Minority Press's marked distinction from the market limited its financial gain, Chatto's 'realism'—for example, its publication of commercially popular writers—helped the publishing house mitigate the economic risks associated with restricted production texts. Because of its superior economic resources, Chatto was also able to market these texts to a much larger audience than less compromising presses.

The Leavises had seen firsthand what the Chatto imprint could do for the profile of their books. When *Fiction* appeared in 1932 it was widely reviewed by over eighteen periodicals and journals, likewise with *New Bearings*. Contrast this with the fact that, when appearing with the Minority Press, *Mass Civilisation* had inspired only one small paragraph in the *TLS*. Leavis tried again with the Minority Press by publishing *How to Teach Reading* (1932), which received only seven reviews, and *For Continuity* (1933), which received only one review. Thus ended Leavis's business relationship with Fraser. Perhaps the most pressing reason that Leavis ceased publication with the Minority Press was because he quickly needed to convert his symbolic capital. Restricted production was hardly remunerative at the initial stages and, by 1932 (only two years after he entered the sub-field of academic literary criticism), Leavis's income was significantly reduced by the loss of a lectureship at Cambridge. The Leavises' intellectual efforts needed to turn a profit, which Chatto contracts ensured. As Q.D.L. told Richards, she needed to publish her dissertation so there could be 'some butter on the family bread.'³ This impetus, as we will later see, became all the more pressing with retirement.

As with Fraser, publishing with Chatto offered the benefit of an established relationship with a past student, Ian Parsons, who had joined the firm as a typographer in 1926. Leavis could hardly have done better. A former editor of the *Cambridge Review*, Parsons was an ambitious employee who became art editor in only two years and was well placed to advocate the Leavises' manuscripts to the other members of the firm. Parsons was also friendly to the *Scrutiny* project, particularly when its essays sold well between Chatto covers.⁴ Leavis's break with the Minority Press was finalised in 1934 when he published *Determinations*, a selection of early *Scrutiny* essays. Leavis published with Chatto because he was interested in exchanging his prestige for economic profit. As he remarked to Parsons in 1932 when coming up with a marketing plan for *Determinations*, '*Scrutiny* is well known—news from the intellectual front, so to speak—literally everywhere in the university world; & only a very small proportion of the interested subscribe: a very much larger portion, I believe, would fork out for a book.'⁵ Although *Scrutiny* was respected and even influential, it had a limited readership and was unprofitable. Leavis was aware that in a different form it could reach a much larger audience and supply a substantial income.

'Making it Really a Book'

Leavis was correct. Though the journal was a means to symbolic capital, the economic potential for *Scrutiny* essays was best realised in book form. A statistical analysis of M.B. Kinch's bibliography of over a thousand articles, chapters, reviews, and books relating to Leavis, reveals that while only 15.1% refer to *Scrutiny*, 43.6% refer specifically to Leavis's books.⁶ Sold as books—termed by one CUP editor as 'by-products of *Scrutiny*'—the essays could reach a much larger readership and could be

made available for much longer than the three months that *Scrutiny*'s quarterly format afforded.⁷ Leavis's most successful book comprised of *Scrutiny* essays, *The Great Tradition* (1948), was voted by the American periodical *LIFE* as 'the most important book of the year by an overseas writer,' went through seven impressions with Chatto and Windus, was translated into Japanese and Italian, and was licensed by six separate publishers, several of which reprinted it numerous times during Leavis's life.⁸ *The Great Tradition* was Leavis's best selling book by far, but other Leavis books made up of *Scrutiny* articles experienced a long-lasting degree of popularity, including *Education and the University* (1943), *Revaluation*, and *The Common Pursuit*.

The transformation from article to book was hardly an after-thought as Leavis himself proudly declared on the occasion of the CUP reissue: 'I can count off-hand at least fifteen [books that] were written in the pages of *Scrutiny*.'⁹ Indeed, as Leavis confided to Parsons when discussing *Determinations*: 'we are and always have been, very serious about the project of producing the matter for books in *Scrutiny*. It has been an essential part of the original design—so surprisingly much of which has been already realised.'¹⁰ But 'book-making,' as Leavis came to call it, was by no means uncomplicated, and he struggled not so much with 'producing the matter' as with collating it between covers. Writing to Parsons in 1959, Leavis revealed,

I want to get a book finished this summer—one I call . . . *The Critical Function*: it will include what I've done on Johnson, Coleridge, Arnold, and I shall add Eliot and Lawrence And then (the most difficult part) a couple of opening chapters making it really a book—quintessential, concentrated, presenting an idea.¹¹

The struggle to find relevance and continuity in what amounted to a hodgepodge of selections was nothing new. *Determinations*, for example, was originally titled *Cambridge Criticism*, but as 'the volume must have a title that makes it appear more than a collection,' Leavis changed his mind.¹² The next title that Leavis considered was *Survey of Scrutiny*, but he rejected it as 'too weak.' *Determinations* was finally chosen on the grounds that 'the play on *Scrutiny*, with the consequent stress on tradition seems to me to provide the friction that gives the title body and character (you can't slip over it). And it does make an essential point defending our conception of the function of criticism.'¹³ *Determinations* contained essays on unrelated topics and was the result of a relatively simple process of selection meant primarily 'to impress on the world that there . . . is a formidable phalanx of young talented critics in "the [*Scrutiny*] movement".'¹⁴ Other books that began as articles in separate *Scrutiny* issues, but were intended to be read as monographs, required more manipulation.

Revaluation, a collection of essays by Leavis in *Scrutiny*'s 'Revaluations' series on poetry, caused more than one problem in the transformation. Upon sending the text to Chatto, Leavis wrote to Parsons:

I hope you won't frown when you open the parcel, and think what an untidy pile I've sent. The bulk of it is on *Scrutiny* galleys which I had saved. Up to the last minute I had assumed that that would suit the printer, but now I have misgivings For the last chapter I found I had no galleys, so I tore out the pages from *Scrutiny*.¹⁵

Furthermore, the articles were too hermetic, causing Leavis to force connections, which damaged their argument. Leavis writes to Parsons: 'My problem in revising was that,

though the essays were written as chapters of a book, some enlarging and cross-reference was necessary and yet, when it came to the point, I was loath to spoil the tension of the essays by meddling very much.’¹⁶ Leavis’s alternative was hardly subtle:

My solution seems to me a satisfactory one, and I hope you’ll agree. I’ve added appendices to each chapter, to be printed directly after the given chapter. My idea is that they should be in the same sized type as the body of the chapter, so as to make it plain that they demand the same kind of attention (perhaps I ought to add a brief note to that effect at the end of the Introduction?). I think the titles ought to go, with modest insistence, under the perspective chapters in the Contents. That would have the advantage of justifying obviously (at a reviewer’s glance) the title of the book.’¹⁷ (Figure 6.1)

CONTENTS	
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Figure 6.1: Table of contents for *Revaluation: Tradition and Development in English Poetry* (1936).

Aside from providing material that had not been supplied in *Scrutiny*, the appendices offered another advantage: 'various people I've consulted think the appendices anyway a decidedly good feature. They're mostly lively and they give some relief from following what is sometimes found (I'm afraid) my too close and spare argument.'¹⁸ Most reviews were positive (or at least benign) regarding the structure and style, but one reviewer had

problems with both and called the book ‘desiccated,’ as well as accusing Leavis of being ‘humourless, bloodless . . . and unconscious.’¹⁹

Perhaps mindful that such criticisms might be levelled, Leavis agonised over the title. The original title for the book, *Tradition and Development in English Poetry*, presented ‘ticklish problems’ on the grounds that it was too long for advertisements and could not be truncated. Parsons suggested *Revaluations* as an alternative with ‘a snap and a suggestion of controversy about it which . . . would help the book.’²⁰

‘Revaluations’ was the title of a series in *Scrutiny* with which other writers, including Leavis, were associated. In his reply to Parsons, Leavis expressed concern that ‘Revaluations’ implied ‘the book isn’t a book, but a collection of essays.’²¹ This was a particular problem as Leavis’s professional status at Cambridge was uncertain. Leavis continued: ‘In the ordinary way, I should be content to leave it to the intelligent reader to do me justice. But I have now to keep an eye on the academic world: to-day of all days I’m feeling that I may have to go round looking for a job . . . I mustn’t expect any credit that I don’t claim.’²² Furthermore, ‘by appearing to make a pretentious claim that seems obviously unjustified I may challenge dismissal.’²³ Leavis settled on *Revaluation* in the singular believing that:

the effect is . . . very different. And it’s immediately relevant to the implicit leading interest of the book. As I say in the introduction; I’m offering to define in the concrete a conception of the nature of revaluation—the revaluation that has to be undertaken in every age . . . So the title would run: *Revaluation: Tradition and Development in English Poetry*. The

singular form makes the subtitle adhere more persistently—and I should like the subtitle to get as much prominence as possible anyway.²⁴

The Great Tradition was the product of similar anxieties. When discussing the book with Parsons, Leavis explained that he had just finished an essay on George Eliot, which was appearing in an upcoming issue of *Scrutiny*. Leavis feared the essay would go unread by students who were not subscribers.²⁵ He ‘discovered with surprise,’ that the Eliot essay fit in ‘with my four revaluations of novelists [that] make up a book.’²⁶ In its final form, the book argued for the critical prominence of George Eliot, Henry James, and Joseph Conrad, but it initially included E.M. Forster as a fourth novelist. When persuading Parsons of the book’s merits, Leavis wrote, ‘I think the H.J. and the E.M.F. do the job well and will stand.’²⁷ Leavis considered his book as an attempt to ‘shorten the queue’ and so chose *Novelists Revalued* as a title to sequel his thinned out poetic canon.²⁸ Parsons, however, declined the suggestion and instead proposed *Four Novelists*, which helped Leavis realise that he was too liberal with his selection:

‘*Four Novelists*’ was what I was dodging . . . your letter makes me realise (so little had I thought about my discovery that I had a book virtually done) that . . . E.M. Forester doesn’t really belong in this company. With my usual complacency, I think I’ve said all that really needs saying about him, but he’s minor To put E.M.F. in would weaken the book—& would be an implicit unkindness that, liking & regarding the man, I shrank from.²⁹

Three Novelists wouldn’t do either and the title was changed to *The Classical Novelists and the Great Tradition*, which was finally shortened to *The Great Tradition*.

II. Leavis and the Universities

In whatever form they took, it is unlikely that Leavis's essays would have had the impact they did without university expansion. Leavis was aware of the increasing social importance of universities and he prudently made 'the idea of a university' central to his cultural politics. The middle classes were the dominant force in higher education. Many middle-class students associated universities with social mobility: the establishment of a professional elite—membership of which was (ideally) determined not by birth, but by ability. The influential 1963 government report on higher education (the Robbins Report) recognised that universities were at the centre of a drive for professional qualifications: 'progress—and particularly the maintenance of a competitive position—depends . . . on skills demanding special training.'³⁰ Robbins also recognised, however, that 'the aim should be to produce not mere specialists but rather cultivated men and women.'³¹ Theoretically beyond class, Leavis's promotion of a cultural elite was in some sense similar to the universities' professional elite. However, in *Mass Civilisation*, Leavis lamented the profusion of what Eliot called 'fields of knowledge.'³² It is no surprise that with the prospect of university expansion, Leavis chose to promote 'cultivation' to the exclusion of developments he associated with professional 'specialisation'.³³ In *Education and the University* (1943), for example, Leavis spoke of universities as 'symbols of cultural tradition . . . representing a wisdom older than modern civilisation and having an authority that should check and control the blind drive toward material and mechanical development.'³⁴

Leavis had once protested the impotence of public intellectuals in the face of a large-scale readership. According to Leavis, critics like Bennett were appeasing the masses rather than preserving literary values and ordering public taste. But as universities began to gain in profile, Leavis argued that the diminished function of public intellectuals could be taken over by the universities. In *Education and the University*, Leavis writes: 'A university of its very nature (or "idea"), if it is one at all, asserts . . . a view of cultural tradition as representing the active function of human intelligence, choice and will; that is, as a spiritual force that can direct and determine.'³⁵ By situating universities at the axis of 'humane culture, social conscience and political will,' Leavis believed they could positively affect the whole of society.³⁶

To realise the importance of the universities by 1943 was forward looking. It was not until the Education Acts of 1944 and 1945 that secondary education became available to all students within Britain. According to the Robbins Report, the Education Acts dramatically increased the potential pool of university students. Whereas, in 1938, only 38% of 14 year olds were in full-time education, this number had increased to 100% by 1962. This growth had a knock on effect for the number of students qualified to attend British universities and enrolment rose from approximately 50,000 in 1938 to 118,000 in 1962.³⁷ Even though the 'older civic' universities, or 'redbricks' (such as the Universities of Wales, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield and Bristol) had all been given university charters by 1909, they still failed to provide for the number of spaces required. In 1900, 20,000 students were enrolled in the universities but in 1924, that number more than doubled to 42,000. In order to accommodate the trend, the 'younger civics', or 'whitetiles', were progressively granted university charters (Reading

in 1926, Nottingham in 1948, Southampton, Hull, Exeter and Leicester between 1952 and 1957). The Robbins Report had predicted that by 1970 the number of university applicants would triple to 350,000 and, consequently, recommended the formation of the 'plateglass' universities. These included Sussex, York, East Anglia, Essex, Lancaster, Kent, and Warwick—all of which were established by 1965.

An egalitarian rhetoric was often used to justify university development, but this did not mean that the universities were in any sense equal in relation to each other (tending to have a higher level of prestige in direct proportion to their age). Nor did this rhetoric mean that the universities would be equally attended by all classes. In 1955, for example, students with working class backgrounds (by far the largest segment of the population), made up only 20% of students at the University of London, and only 30% of students in civic universities. In the same year, 22% of the men and 27% of the women attending English universities had fathers working in 'higher professional and managerial' posts, while 41% of the men and 45% of the women had fathers in 'intermediate' professional posts.³⁸

The Robbins Report shows that the faculties of Arts were the most popular with students at the time of its publication. Faculties of Science claimed (approximately) 26% of undergraduates in 1962 Britain, Faculties of Technology claimed 15%, faculties of Agriculture claimed 2%, Medical Subjects claimed 11%, while faculties of Arts claimed 45% of undergraduates.³⁹ If the largest social group in British universities were the upward-looking middle classes, the popularity of the faculties would seem to indicate that the Arts were perceived to be the main means of their mobility.⁴⁰ However, 'sweetness and light' did not necessarily claim their attention. 'Arts', defined according

to the Robbins Report, is a broad term. It covers subjects including Law, Economics, Social Sciences, Psychology, Theology and Philosophy, Classics, Modern Languages, History, English and Geography. English Studies was by no means insignificant, but it hardly dominated university faculties. In 1962, for example, English Studies accounted for only 4% of degrees awarded by universities. This can be seen as a relatively small percentage when it is compared with Modern Languages, which, alongside Biological Sciences, claimed the largest proportion of degrees, with 7%.⁴¹

The University Market

Leavis declared English Studies held a 'recognised position as chief of the humanities and [a] key responsibility for education.'⁴² He no doubt hoped that such rhetoric would help establish his own centrality within education. Indeed, Leavis wrote to Parsons of 'the educational world (my hold on which accounts largely for my steady sales)'.⁴³ In order to take advantage of the increasing university population, Leavis recruited a coterie of lecturers that advised students to buy his books and booksellers to stock them. When anxious about the marketing of *Determinations*, for example, Leavis was encouraged by the news that 'we've at last got a lodgement at Oxford, the results of which should be felt next term, &, if the booksellers can be persuaded to give a good show, *Determinations* will profit.'⁴⁴

The more prestige his name accumulated, the more worthwhile it became to take an active role in the publicity of his books, particularly at the expanding universities. His potential university market in Britain would have been primarily populated by students pursuing English Studies. Based on figures supplied by the Robbins Report, from the time of his first publication with Chatto and Windus in 1932 until his death in 1978, the

projected sum of his potential market in English departments at British Universities is around 82,000 (see endnote forty-five for calculations).⁴⁵ Of course, in a country like America, which had far more students, the potential English Studies market would have been even larger. One way to reach these markets was to go on what Leavis termed 'evangelical forays,' or free lecture tours, which Leavis regularly did after retiring from Cambridge. He visited universities throughout Britain, America, Spain, and Italy, among other countries.⁴⁶ However, Q.D.L. was not convinced of the economic advantages and wanted cash up front. She wrote to Parsons of her 'indignation' towards 'universities and societies—which . . . hire the largest hall they can find and sell tickets for it to their immense profit while only paying his travelling expenses! He says when I remonstrate: "Oh well, it helps to sell our books"—but I wonder.'⁴⁷ The manager of the CUP New York branch, Ronald Mansbridge, pointed out to Leavis's editor at Cambridge, Michael Black, that Leavis used his situation to increase his selling power:

I think you will be amused to learn a fresh piece of Leavis's unworldliness. One of the editors of the NYU Press well remembers (and can produce another American who remembers) attending Leavis's lectures and seeing Leavis brandish the book, recommending to all of them that they go to their bookstore and buy a copy!⁴⁸

Perhaps CUP's Secretary to the Syndics, R.W. David, had this in mind when consoling other editors about the flagging sales of the *Scrutiny* reissue in America: 'Leavis is just about to visit the States and his visit may well cause some stir and an increased demand for *Scrutiny*.'⁴⁹

As university students formed a substantial part of Leavis's readership, he was always concerned that new books were made available during the term. When *Nor Shall My Sword* was delayed, Leavis wrote putting pressure on Parsons:

For undergraduates in general the term is near its end—and still no *Nor Shall* in the shops. What calamity or contretemps?—I really ought to know, if only in order to be primed for my answer in the bookshops and universities . . . what is the situation, and what the prospect?⁵⁰

Leavis frequently promoted his books in lectures before they were even printed and he was particularly anxious that they appear when he had indicated, fearful that he might lose potential income:

I'm asked to explain the non-appearance of *The Living Principle*—which in my usual way, I've done much to create a public for in my visits to universities. I hope that the forthcoming essay in *The Spectator* will do something to counter the actual decline of the potential market.⁵¹

Leavisism and the Universities

However, there were only so many students to whom Leavis could personally pitch his books. In part, the wide distribution of his books relied on the strength of the movement associated with his name. Leavis wrote to Parsons of his 'hold on education', but if he meant by this an ability to personally direct developments within education, or even English Studies, he was mistaken. Leavis was indeed at the centre of a network of influential figures in English Studies, but his function was more symbolic than administrative. Though important as a mentor, he did not have a large measure of control over the movement.⁵² In 'English for the English since 1906' (1985), Stephen

Ball characterises Leavis's influence as indirect: a figurehead of an educational movement promulgated by a matrix of ex-students, including Raymond Williams (a contributor to *The Use of English*), Boris Ford, Richard Hoggart, and Fred Inglis among many others.

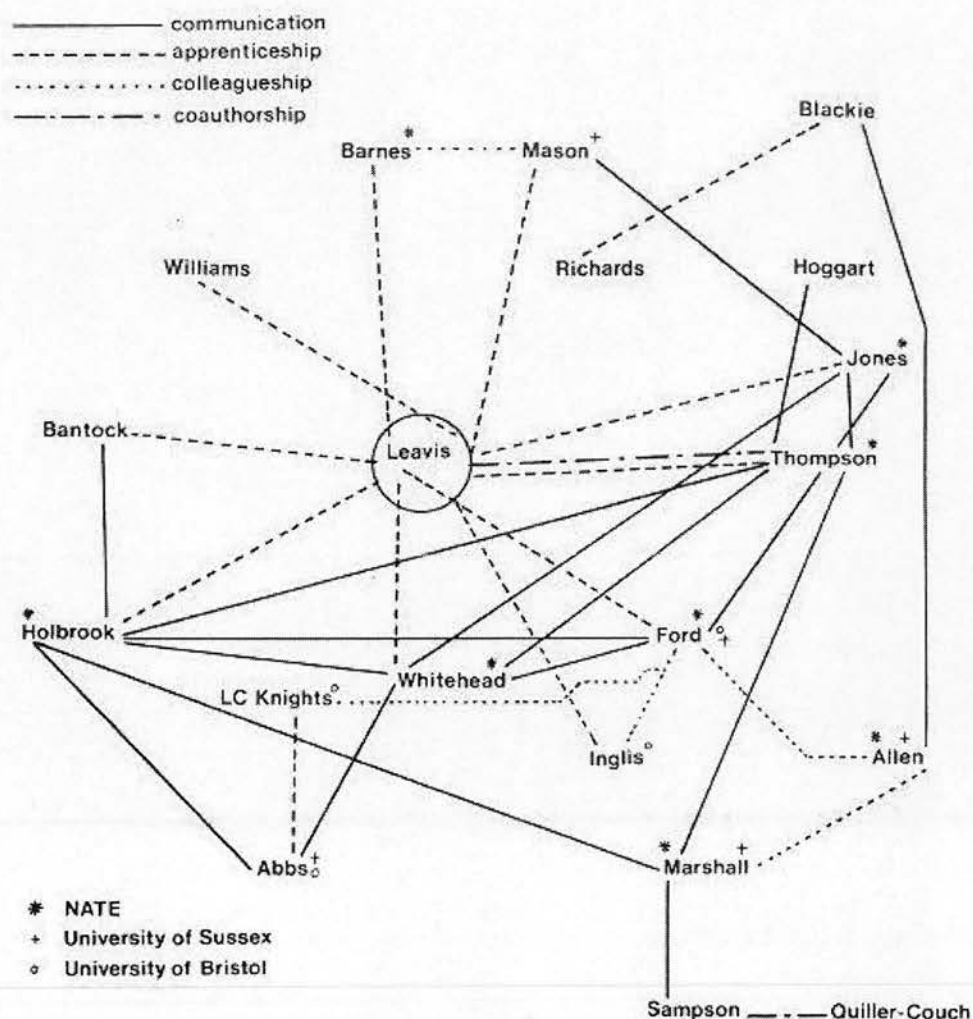


Figure 6.2 'The Cambridge School of English' from 'English for the English since 1906', p. 66.

According to Ball, by holding influential positions in NATE (National Association for the Teaching of English, founded in 1963), Leavis's students were able to effect a move in secondary curriculum toward 'subject centred literature', which stressed 'high culture', 'heritage' and the 'literary critical method.'⁵³ With over a thousand members

and forty branches just a year after its foundation, NATE was a growing institution that was often chaired by Leavisites like Ford and Whitehead.

As Figure 6.2 shows, other important institutions associated with Leavisism were the plateglass University of Sussex and the redbrick University of Bristol. Though newer universities provided Leavisism with a ready supply of recruits, Leavis tried to distance English Studies from university expansion. If English Studies was ‘chief of humanities’ Leavis was, officially, suspicious of most other subjects, even of the newer universities themselves. For example, in 1972, he wrote of the ‘higher-educational mills that are to turn out the needed virtually unlimited number—since technological civilisation advances so rapidly—of trained technicians.’⁵⁴ Addressing his audience from an ancient university, there is, no doubt, an element of elitist snobbery in Leavis’s tone. However, I would argue that this is a symptom of a more fundamental issue. Harold Perkin recognises in *The Rise of Professional Society*, that Leavis’s condescension is related to the tendency of university disciplines to preserve

their separate function and existence . . . from the professions they served outside the walls and also, inside the walls, from the other university disciplines . . . Segregation has become all the more attractive and necessary in those fields whose subject matter is most accessible to the laity, that is in the humanities and social studies.⁵⁵

Although, according to Robbins, the ‘aim’ of higher education should be to produce ‘cultivated’ men and women, the newer universities were connected to the production of ‘trained technicians’ for professions other than the teaching of English; hence Leavis’s negative tone. Furthermore, Leavis, to a certain degree, distanced himself

from the more pragmatic aspects of teaching, which were an integral part of English instruction in schools. By focusing on the training of critical ‘sensitivity’, Leavis avoided addressing practicalities like the teaching of spelling, grammar, and even how to write. Nowhere is this anti-professional attitude more obvious than in ‘A Sketch for an “English School”’ (1943), where Leavis argues for a university department ‘designed for an elite,’ a ‘humane school’ training a ‘non-specialist intelligence.’⁵⁶ Regardless of Leavis’s condescension to the newer universities, they were important for the movement. Because Leavisism was comprised of a diverse group of educators, it was not homogeneous. Though its figurehead provided the movement with a terminology that was widely used, many sought—often unsuccessfully—to move beyond it. The inaugural Professor of The School of English and American Studies at the University of Sussex (founded in 1961) was David Daiches. Daiches used his position to establish a department based on a quasi-Leavisite rationale and hired a number of Leavisites like Ford. In ‘The Place of English in the Sussex Scheme’ (1964), Daiches spoke of English Studies as a ‘profoundly civilising discipline,’ but also felt it necessary to qualify his approval of Leavisism, even if it meant contradiction:

It is utopian to believe in the civilising power of a few great books, to expect that by training students to appreciate *Measure for Measure*, the *Dunciad*, *Middlemarch* and *The Rainbow*, one is solving the baffling problems of culture in our time and equipping the students with the ability to regenerate civilisation. (It may be somewhat unfair to ascribe this view to Dr Leavis, but it is not an overwhelming simplification of his position.)⁵⁷

Daiches wanted to avoid being labelled a Leavisite. But, as he asserts in the same essay, Leavisism provided a powerful justification for English Studies, which was useful for a department finding its feet:

it is in this direction that we must move if we want to provide a first degree in English which really makes educational sense An English School must train its students to read with discrimination and appreciation. In an age when the 'mass media' are threatening standards on all sides . . . a prime responsibility rests on the university to teach *critical appreciation* Here, with Matthew Arnold and Dr Leavis, we look to "the best", great works of literature that ought to be known by educated people, works which are stimulating and profitable and exciting to read, which enrich and develop the personality, which provide means of developing critical techniques and insights, which provide standards and help form taste, which give some idea of the stature of the English literary achievement.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, as a document detailing Leavisite influences in an English department, Daiches' essay is uncommon. However, *A Guide to English Courses in the Universities* (1965), a catalogue of English Courses in British universities, provides another means of tracing the effect of the movement in the department prospectuses themselves. One important indication of Leavisism's influence in each department was the provision for literary criticism. Leavis writes in 'A Sketch for an "English School"', that 'the essential discipline of an English School is the literary-critical; it is a true discipline, only in an English School if anywhere will it be fostered, and it is irreplaceable.'⁵⁹ Leavis also offers a syllabus for his ideal school, the most conspicuous

component of which is 'Practical Criticism'. From the publication of *Culture and Environment* in 1933 to the 'Criticism in Practice' course work inserted in *The Use of English* educational journal, Leavis had been associated with the promotion of Practical Criticism as the primary means of uncovering advertising tactics, as well as providing 'the test of literary education and critical competence.'⁶⁰

The regularity with which literary criticism appears as part of university English schools demonstrates the perceived utility of Leavis's 'sketch'. Of the thirty-seven university English courses listed in the book, twenty-two of them offer literary criticism as either obligatory or an option; in, all, twelve specifically offer 'Practical Criticism'. Leavis's suggestions were therefore overtly taken on board by over a quarter of English Departments within Britain. Beyond Cambridge, Practical Criticism was spread relatively evenly throughout the university system.⁶¹ This is not to suggest that Leavisism or even literary criticism were definitive features of university English departments, which, if anything, were incredibly diverse institutions. Even in departments that had courses on Practical Criticism, courses that were emphatically un-Leavisite also appeared. For example, at the English department of the University of Durham, classes which had little to do with English Literature as Leavis saw it—Old and Middle English Philology, Old Norse, and Old French—were placed alongside Leavis's recommendation. However dedicated its adherents, the reality was that, in the sixties, Leavisism had failed to form a broad consensus as to how English Studies should be approached. Its prescriptions were only one option in a discipline that had absorbed a variety of approaches. These included bibliography (at Oxford and elsewhere), philology (still widely taught upon the publication of the *Guide*), historical overviews (in nearly

every department), theology (at Birmingham and elsewhere), classical studies (at Kent and elsewhere), and Chemistry, Mathematics, or Politics (at Lancaster).⁶²

Leavisism Abroad

Although available evidence for the growth of Leavisism outside of Britain is intermittent at best, it is possible to draft a very approximate picture of its presence in an international context. In much the same way that Leavisism in Britain benefited from the promotion of a coterie, the spread of Leavisism to colonial universities was bolstered by similar activities. The foundation of secularised universities in British colonies began with the establishment of a university college in 1802 in Nova Scotia, by royal charter. Later in the nineteenth century, university colleges were also developed in New Zealand, Australia, and India. It was not until the twentieth century that universities based on British models were established in Africa.⁶³

The rationale behind the establishment of each university was specific to its situation. But, to one degree or another, the universities played an important role in representing a (changing) British identity in a foreign context, what Eric Ashby defines in *Universities: British, Indian, African* (1966) as ‘that body of intentions, beliefs, and prejudices which together are recognised as “British Policy”’.⁶⁴ In some instances, the universities performed this function by training an elite class of natives that could act as a liaison between the colonial government and the wider population. As Thomas Macaulay recommended during his term in India, the aim of higher education in Calcutta should be to establish a class that was ‘Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.’⁶⁵ Ashby elaborates: this class ‘would serve as interpreters between the government and the masses, and who, by refining the

vernaculars, would supply the means of a widespread dissemination of western learning.’⁶⁶ As a result of such goals, the colonial universities, which were often staffed by a British faculty, tended to reflect changes in British education. The presence of Leavisism in British universities thus encouraged its international dissemination. In the 1940’s, for example, one British advisor to South East Asian colonial universities, H.J. Channon, made recommendations that were cast in a Leavisite diction, by arguing for the ‘high grade university, not the mass production vocational machine.’⁶⁷ Through its establishment of a canon of ‘great’ English writers, among other aspects, Leavis’s criticism had an obvious value for universities that often promoted a British identity. However, it should not be inferred that in every case Leavisism was applied to such ends, or that, when it was, it successfully achieved them.

Teaching English in a colonial context brought advantages along with special problems. Profiting from his nationality, the British lecturer Percival Gurrey immediately became a department head upon moving to the University of the Gold Coast, Achimota (established in 1948). In his *Use of English* essay ‘Literature at a Colonial University’ (1951), Gurrey recognised several difficulties, one of which was the inevitably delay accompanying the translation of British educational developments into a colonial situation. Though in Britain Leavisism met resistance, objectors were at least familiar with the approach; a Leavisite in the colonies often had to start from the ground up.

The lecturer, straight from a university in the United Kingdom, must expect to find that most of his students have been taught literature in much the same way as it was taught about forty years ago. This means that they will not have

been trained to read literature with mental powers responding to the demands of a writer, and so will not have the inestimable benefit of a literary discipline The student's powers of appreciation and their sense of values will have been adversely affected.⁶⁸

Another issue was the colonial students' unfamiliarity with British customs: 'In discussing English literature in the Colonies most experienced teachers will inevitably murmur 'background', for many of them, thinking the problem insuperable, will not have arrived at a solution.'⁶⁹ Gurrey continues:

there will, of course, always be difficulties with some literature . . . for instance not only the subject, but the special value of, say, *The Rape of the Lock* will be puzzling to students in the Colonies; and there will be difficulties of dialect in reading *Tam o' Shanter* and the novels of Scott and Stevenson, and in perceiving the more subtle points of Jane Austen's wit and irony.⁷⁰

Not unrelated was a cultural dislocation that could distract even the most earnest Leavisite on foreign shores. In his poem 'University Examinations in Egypt', the one time Scrutineer, D.J. Enright, wrote of his experiences teaching literature at Farouk I University in Alexandria:

The air is thick with nerves and smoke: pens tremble in sweating hands:
Domestic police flit in and out, with smelling salts and aspirin:
And servants, grave-faced but dirty, pace the aisles,
With coffee, Players and Coca-Cola

Was it like this in my day, at my place? Memory boggles
Between the aggressive fly and curious ant—but did I really
Pause in my painful flight to light a cigarette and swallow drugs?

The nervous eye, patrolling these hot unhappy victims,
Flinches at the symptoms of a year's hard teaching—
'Falstaff indulged in drinking and sexcess', and then,
'Doolittle was a dusty man' and 'Dr. Jonson edited the Yellow Book'.⁷¹

In America, Leavisites also found the differences to be dissatisfying, as was the case with Margaret Diggle, who taught Freshman Composition and general literature courses at midwest and western universities. Because English literature was compulsory for all university students—not just those reading for an English degree—Diggle found herself teaching students 'who turn first to the comic page of the daily newspaper, and will feel that to read *Life*, *Time*, and the *Reader's Digest* is to take literature seriously.'⁷² After teaching a course on 'literary appreciation,' Diggle complained of students who 'just endure the literature class,' one of whom asked her 'whether Apollo was in Shakespeare or the Bible.'⁷³ Diggle began 'to explain about Greek myths, but he still looked puzzled and said something about "Apollo, who thought his wife done him wrong."'⁷⁴ A.H. White, an English teacher who went on an exchange programme at an Illinois high school, unfavourably compared American English courses with British English courses: 'Their courses are so much wider than ours in that they are surveys, lacking the discipline demanded in our studies in set books. They scatter widely and thinly, we cultivate fewer fields far more intensively.'⁷⁵

In part, an international Leavisism relied on colonials who came to Cambridge. As Leavis divulged to Parsons: 'elites of young undergraduates—who go back and send me picked men from Melbourne, Toronto, B. Columbia, Pistermaritsburgh, Harvard . . . propagate all my tips.'⁷⁶ Given such a tone, it is perhaps tempting to equate the application of Leavisism in an international context with an imperial establishment of

'Englishness'. However, as Eric McCormick suggests in 'In the 1930s: Cambridge to New Zealand' (1995), Leavisism could operate quite differently in the hands of a colonial critic. McCormick came from New Zealand to Cambridge on a postgraduate scholarship in order to write a thesis on an early-Elizabethan text, *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Once he arrived, McCormick realised that he lacked the facility to study the document in detail and he turned to Leavis who suggested he write a thesis on New Zealand literature. McCormick was a *Scrutiny* subscriber and the thesis was written from an 'anthropological' perspective, which detailed the cross-fertilisation between Maori and European cultures. McCormick's work was published in 1940 as *Letters and Art in New Zealand* in association with the popular series on New Zealand culture, *Making New Zealand*, and the book was at the forefront of a movement to establish a native cultural identity. As McCormick claimed by writing the book, 'I had learned that I was a New Zealander, not some species of off-shore Englishman.'⁷⁷

Another example of British Leavisism taking on a different form in an international context is the Canadian Marshall McLuhan's *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (1951). The book was a collection of newspaper and magazine advertisements with McLuhan's commentaries displayed alongside. In line with Leavis and Thompson's *Culture and Environment*, McLuhan intended to unmask advertising tactics. In line with *Fiction*, he also postulated a social explanation for the popularity of mass culture.⁷⁸ But, what Leavis and Thompson condemned as pornography, McLuhan found to be source of 'amusement':

Many who are accustomed to the note of moral indignation will mistake this amusement for mere indifference. But the time for anger and protest is in the

early stages of a new process. The present stage is extremely advanced.

Moreover, it is full, not only of destructiveness but also of promises of rich new developments to which moral indignation is a very poor guide.⁷⁹

Where *Culture and Environment* saw 'standardisation', McLuhan argued for a dynamic collective unconscious:

amid the diversity of inventions and abstract techniques of production and distribution there will found a great deal of cohesion and unity. This consistency is not conscious in origin or effect and seems to arise from a sort of collective dream. For that reason, as well as the wide-spread popularity of these objects and processes, they are here referred to as 'the folklore of industrial man'.⁸⁰

As a collective social expression, 'folklore' was to be explored rather than avoided.

Thus, instead of being indignant, McLuhan was humorous, offering satire and parody as a 'means of releasing some of [the advertisements'] intelligible meaning.'⁸¹

In Australia, the marginality and animosity associated with British Leavisism were recapitulated to a remarkable degree. In 1998, Andrew Riemer's memoir of academic struggles at the Sydney University English Department, *Sandstone Gothic*, was published to much controversy. The book inspired a spate of dissenting recollections, which emphasised different events and perceptions, but all agreed that the emergence of Leavisism was a significant event in Australian English Studies.⁸² One of the most thorough of these recollections is Terry Collits' 'Sydney Revisited: Literary Struggles in Australia (circa 1965 and ongoing)' (1999).

According to Collits, Leavisism first came to Australia via the Scrutineer Allan Edwards, who was appointed as a professor at Perth, whereupon it was taken to Melbourne in the early 1950's by Jock Tomlinson. At Melbourne, Leavisism was used by a number of faculty members like Maggie Tomlinson, David Moody, Vincent Buckley, and Sam Goldberg to challenge traditional pedagogies. Goldberg would prove to be the most influential of the four. Re-enacting (perhaps consciously) the Leavisite legend, Goldberg started up a 'Lit Club' attended by staff and students who gave papers that were eventually to be published in Goldberg's newly started *Melbourne Critical Review*. Collits characterises the early numbers of the journal as reflecting a 'liberal pluralism,' but he points out that the 'repetition of the name Leavis' was a prominent feature.⁸³ When Goldberg attempted to transfer Leavisism to Sydney University in the early 1960's, he was far less successful. According to Collits, Goldberg's move appeared to the Sydney faculty as 'a violent act of colonial appropriation.'⁸⁴

There was some justification for the faculty's fears as Goldberg was known for preferring an English canon over what he called 'feeble' Australian literature.⁸⁵ Furthermore, Leavisism was at odds with the department's own Oxonian, textual and historical scholarship. The situation was not defused when Goldberg was offered the much sought after Challis Professorship instead of the resident hopeful, Gerry Wilkes. Rather than helping to foster a department in which Leavisism and textual scholarship could co-exist, Wilkes responded by setting up an alternate 'B' course, which excluded a Leavisite perspective. Goldberg reacted with a missionary zeal and recruited two young Downing graduates, John Wiltshire (in 1964) and Howard Jacobson (in 1965), as well as surrounding himself with a coterie of honours students who offered to tutor for free if it

would ‘help the movement.’⁸⁶ Though Goldberg eventually retreated from Sydney under the pressure, many undergraduates at Melbourne and Sydney saw Leavis as an important influence. In the prologue to *In a Critical Condition* (1984) and *Postmodernism and Popular Culture* (1994), for example, the onetime Sydney undergraduate, John Docker, recalls a devotion to ‘every word my master wrote’:

I was of course in no danger of being seduced by anything mass. I instinctively knew that one only read the highest literature, that is, English, European and a few approved American novels; anything else was beneath notice, was gross and vulgar. I spent much of the inner life I possessed fantasising how different my sensibility was from anything constituted by and in mass culture and the masses and indeed wishing I could live elsewhere, in some finer civilisation like Italy in touch with a noble past, rather than on these vulgar antipodean shores.⁸⁷

Striving to mimic the ‘master’ was not uncommon. One Sydney undergraduate ‘sent out’ to suburban and county high schools recalled that

what in fact happened was that bright young things, as is their wont, became masters (or mistresses) of ventriloquism—the buzz words of this approach were deployed in hopefully the right places, and texts that were suitably ‘life-enhancing’ or ‘masculine’ or ‘engaged’ or, God help us, quintessentially ‘English’—which excluded Virginia Woolf and E.M. Forster however—attracted the correct groans of pleasure.⁸⁸

III. Selling *Scrutiny*

Leavis's increasing national and international reputation made it possible for Cambridge University Press to capitalise on his association with *Scrutiny* by publishing the entire nineteen volume run of *Scrutiny* in 1963. Prestigious, as well as maintaining a high international profile, the Press was the ideal publisher for a producer like Leavis who was looking to convert his symbolic capital. CUP is the oldest surviving university press in the English speaking world that has remained under the same name and ownership since its inception, that of Cambridge University.⁸⁹

Though the Press predated the publishing structures in which Leavis operated by hundreds of years, it recognised the value of restricted production and invoked symbolic concepts like economic disinterestedness, and gained prestige from its age and association with the University.⁹⁰ For the majority of its long history, the Press mainly published bibles and prayer books. But in the twentieth century it began to publish a larger number of academic monographs and collections of essays. The Press did not avoid publishing texts associated with English Studies (in fact it published works by George Sampson, Quiller-Couch, Chadwick, Jessie L. Weston, and Bateson's *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*), but until 1963, the majority of the important work produced by Cambridge English was published by Chatto. Of course, CUP was a conservative press and it had not sought out once controversial texts by members of the school like Richards, Empson, Tillyard, and Leavis.

Although Leavis had hardly become a less controversial figure a decade after the cessation of *Scrutiny*, his (and the journal's) prestige had made its publication a

profitable prospect for CUP. Furthermore, the 1960's was a period of expansion for the Press, which was experiencing the benefits of an educated readership that had been increasing ever since the late nineteenth-century educational reforms. The Press had also been given a boost from a swelling university population, both at home and abroad; it is significant that *Scrutiny* was published by CUP the same year the Robbins Report came out. From 1932-1953, seven university libraries subscribed to *Scrutiny*. However, the reprint was bought by every university library in Britain that had either not yet been founded, or had not taken out a subscription during *Scrutiny*'s life, save the University of Southampton.⁹¹ Such broad institutional acceptance was made possible by several related factors. These included Leavis's Chatto publications that had helped prepare an audience, the strength of Leavisism in higher education, and, perhaps most importantly, the prestige of CUP—a recognition by the elite University that *Scrutiny* was an important academic publication and worth attention. Indeed, Leavis saw the reissue as a homecoming, an academic consecration. In the retrospect that was included in the reprint, he made sure to associate the Press's symbolic capital with *Scrutiny*: 'That it should be Cambridge University Press that undertakes this reprint of *Scrutiny* seems to me altogether right, for *Scrutiny* was essentially Cambridge's achievement.'⁹²

It was Leavis who approached CUP's Secretary to the Syndics, R.J.L. Kingsford, and persuaded him that the reissue would be 'worthwhile' for the Press even though something of the kind had not been attempted for some time. Kingsford then approached the Scrutineer Boris Ford and a past student of Leavis's, Michael Black, both of whom enthusiastically recommended publication. It was a far more demanding production than any of the Chatto books because Leavis, along with Black who oversaw the project, had

to obtain permission from all of the *Scrutiny* contributors over the years. The entire run also had to be indexed. After multiple drafts, which ultimately delayed the reissue, Maurice Hussey provided an exhaustive index in a twentieth volume. Locating 118 contributors proved time consuming as well, particularly when one of the most notable contributors, W.H. Auden, refused permission, which put the entire project in jeopardy. Undaunted, Black secured the rest of the permissions and then re-approached Auden, who conceded as long as a notice was inserted (never to be included) that his contributions were reprinted 'with his consent but against his will.'⁹³

Beside the addition of the twentieth volume, the immediate difference between the CUP production and the *Scrutiny* of 1932-1953 was its appearance. *Scrutiny* was now, as Leavis termed it, a 'classic,' and as the outlaw enterprise had become an institution, its new status demanded a paratext that could reflect its *gravitas*. Thus, in place of the plain and flimsy paper binding displaying a table of contents was a cloth-board enclosed in a glossy jacket bearing the CUP crest and set in 'Cambridge blue' rather than the pale blue of *Scrutiny*.

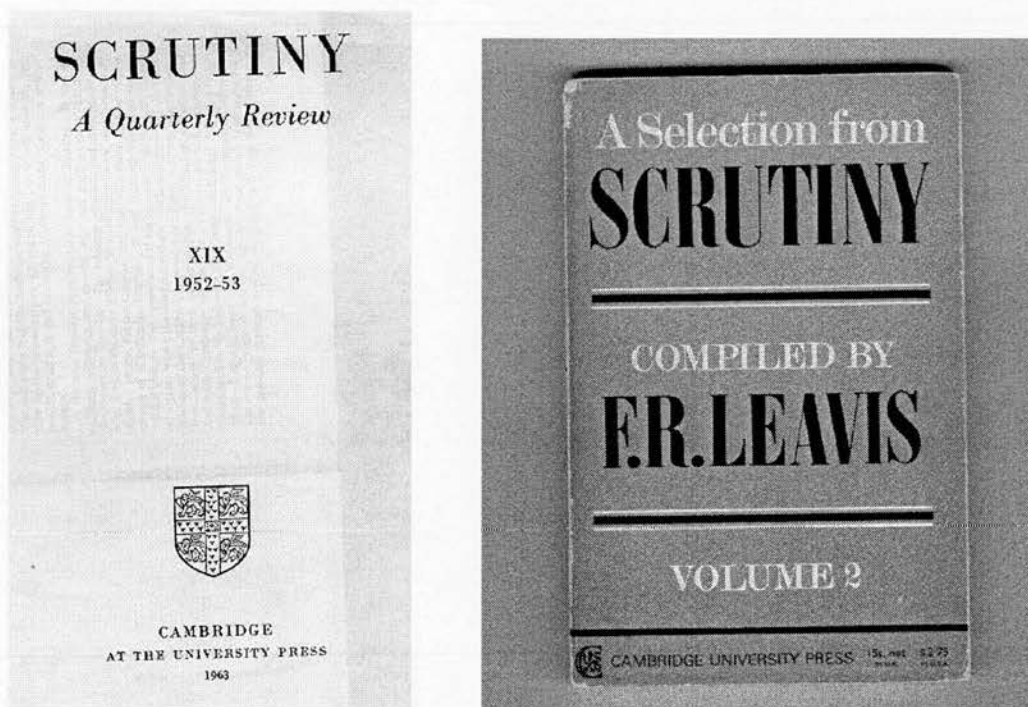
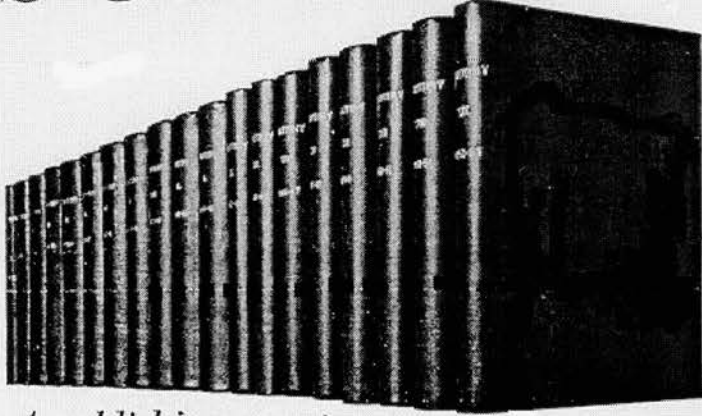


Figure 6.3: Title page from 1963 reissue, Vol. 19 and cover from *A Selection from Scrutiny* (1968). The actual dust jacket from the reissue was unavailable. Also see Figure 6.4.

No less significant was CUP's engagement with the wider literary market. *Scrutiny* represented an effort to remain separate from economic demands (though it was not always successful), but CUP maintained a relationship with the market that was geared for profit while maintaining, at the same time, an appearance of disavowal. Of course, in comparison to *Scrutiny*, the Press's symbolic capital was immense and it did not need to go to the same lengths the journal had in order to maintain a high status. The Press printed 3200 complete sets at £45 a set (or \$125), a seemingly small number until one considers that each set had twenty volumes (64,000 separate volumes in total) each running hundreds of pages long.⁹⁴ Indeed, the number of *Scrutiny* issues printed over the

twenty-year life of the journal was more than doubled in one single printing. Such a large investment was not arrived at arbitrarily. The strategy employed by the Press in order to ascertain the actual market for the reissue, reflected the tensions between the pursuit of economic profit and its disavowal. Ronald Mansbridge, the manager of the New York branch of CUP, was keen to perform what he called a 'pilot test' by placing an advertisement in the November 1962 issue of *Publishers' Weekly*. The advertisement announced that the set would be ready in the spring and that early orders could be placed for a discount, when, in fact, it was never intended to be published until October. Lacking a finished set, Mansbridge approved an advertisement lining up previously bound *Scrutiny* volumes as a monolith, which, in the event that the symbolism went unnoticed, billed the reissue as 'a publishing event' and detailed *Scrutiny*'s well-recognised achievements.

SCRUTINY



A publishing event

We announce with pride a reissue of *SCRUTINY* as a bound set of twenty volumes. The set will include the entire run of the journal, from 1932 through 1953, plus a Retrospect by its principal editor, F. R. Leavis, and a substantial analytical index.

SCRUTINY offers a running chronicle on the important writers of our time. It was *SCRUTINY* that first defined 'the great tradition' of the novel, remarking the elements of style and subject matter which distinguish Jane Austen and George Eliot, Henry James, Hawthorne, Conrad and D. H. Lawrence. It discovered, too, the greatness of Eliot and Ezra Pound; and its estimates of Hopkins, Hardy, Yeats, Frost, Marianne Moore and other poets constitute a peak in poetic criticism. Hemingway, Faulkner, Fitzgerald, Camus, Henry Miller and Sartre were assessed with remarkable perspicience, often before their names were known to the public at large.

Because of the limited circulation of the journal, the paper shortages during the war, and the reluctance of owners of single issues to part with them, sets of *SCRUTINY* have become collectors' items. Now they will be available to the many individuals and libraries needing them, while those who have partial sets will be able to fill in the gaps.

DATE	Spring 1963
PREPUB PRICE	\$5.50 a volume, \$95.00 the set
ON PUBLICATION	\$6.50 a volume, \$125.00 the set

FULL TRADE DISCOUNT, OF COURSE


Cambridge University Press, 32 East 57th Street  New York 22, N. Y.

Figure 6.4: Advertisement for *Scrutiny* reissue, circa 1962, UCL.

When CUP was flooded with requests that they were unable to fill, Mansbridge was reprimanded by the Cambridge branch and he responded,

Go on with you, Guv'nor! We have lots of time in the past put in books, knowing very well that they weren't coming in the six months in question,

and I myself have thought it was not at all a bad thing to do. It is only in recent years that I have seen more of the arguments against it If [this] sounds argumentative, it isn't meant to be, but perhaps your note of 12 November makes me appear a somewhat unreasonable cuss, and I don't want you to think that.⁹⁵

News of the *Scrutiny* reprint travelled fast and Mansbridge's experiment provoked inquiries from as far away as Japan and as close as Cambridge. This provided embarrassing work for the Bentley House editor, C.F. Eccleshare, who candidly blamed the 'back-stairs' for associating the Press with such tactics.⁹⁶ Though Eccleshare was quick to find a scapegoat, it is significant that CUP editors initially agreed with Mansbridge's recommendation of 2500 sets based on the number of early orders.⁹⁷

Once the sets were printed, CUP spared little effort in publicising the reprint: placing notices in international and domestic periodicals, sending out large numbers of copies to be reviewed over the radio (including the B.B.C. and the South African Broadcasting Corporation) and in periodicals, and directly approaching bookstore owners. In Britain, CUP secured reviews in large-scale newspapers and periodicals, including *The Observer*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The TLS*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian*, *The New Statesman*, *The Spectator*, and *The Listener*.⁹⁸ This was done, no doubt, in order to interest the general public in the reissue and thereby to increase the sale of single volumes, which were also available. As Mansbridge's advertisement asserted, 'those who have partial sets will be able to fill in the gaps.' The experiment confirmed that a market existed for single volumes (there were between thirty-five and three orders for each volume). But, one hundred and sixty orders for complete sets

(primarily from libraries) demonstrated that the main market was within education and the Press sent out thousands of prospectuses to public and grammar schools, libraries, Heads of university English departments, and Education departments.⁹⁹

Advertisements were enthusiastic, to say the least, and were careful to highlight the journal's symbolic capital. One leaflet of which Leavis was made aware went to over 4000 American libraries with purchasing funds of over \$5000 a year. The notice played on *Scrutiny*'s disinterestedness by asserting '*Scrutiny* dared to make unfashionable judgements of fashionable writers, and often it was considered something of an "outlaw". Today, however, *Scrutiny* is acknowledged to be the richest source of this century's most important literary criticism.'¹⁰⁰ The notice concluded by asking 'Do you have *Scrutiny* in your library collection?'¹⁰¹ A more elaborate advertisement, which was offered with an image of the set and the CUP crest, displayed the blurb, 'There is now no excuse for any library at all concerned with literary work, criticism and standards not to have this most welcome reprint.'¹⁰²

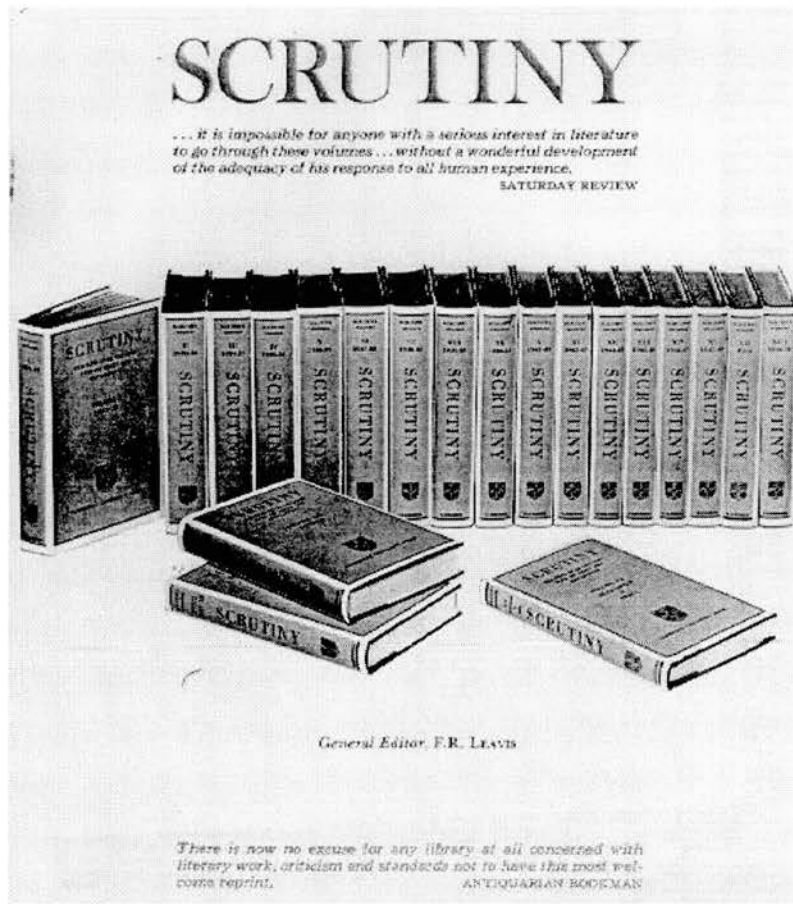


Figure 6.5: Advertisement for *Scrutiny* reissue, circa 1963, UCL.

Compared with advertisements in *Scrutiny*, which, even with Leavis's own publications, merely gave notice that a book was available (such as Figure 6.6), these were high-pressure sales tactics that were, during a different stage, criticised.¹⁰³

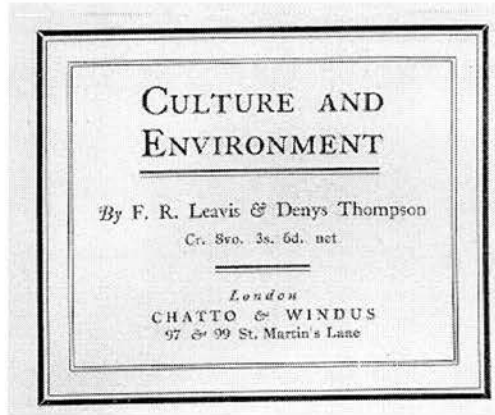


Figure 6.6: Advertisement for *Culture and Environment. Scrutiny*, 1 (1933), inside cover.

One CUP staff member came up with an ingenious means to compel more library purchases, a student essay contest on 'The Importance of *Scrutiny*' to be announced in the month of publication and judged by Lionel Trilling, among others: 'This means a good deal of library interest in the set. We are also planning a mailing to libraries to let them know about the contest and to alert them to the fact that there will be calls for *Scrutiny*, especially from students.'¹⁰⁴ Employing a more personalised approach, CUP sales staff also wrote to potential purchasers that they knew individually in order to drum up sales. One such recipient was John Jones of the Columbia University campus bookstore. The letter began: 'It isn't every day you get a chance to make a single sale for \$95 [the reduced price for early purchase]. But we think we have one for you now. Hal Litman has asked us to tell you about it.' After describing the importance of *Scrutiny*, the letter went in for the hard sell:

We believe that on your campus you may be able to make two or three
[sales] starting with the librarian of the faculty club and the chairman of the

English Department. To help you in this we have prepared a specimen letter which you can copy and personally address, and three folders which include full descriptions, photographs and order cards.¹⁰⁵

The sales manager, who wrote to Jones, had done his research and the specimen letter was a completed business communiqué and included the name of the librarian of the faculty club at Columbia, Althea Parker.¹⁰⁶ Included with the specimen letter was an insert written by Michael Black that claimed ‘it is not extravagant to suggest comparison between *Scrutiny* and the great English journals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *The Spectator*, *The Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Review*.’¹⁰⁷ But this was extravagant indeed when compared to advertisements in *Scrutiny* at the time that *Towards Standards of Criticism* was published. One such notice commented, ‘It is believed that this book will be of particular use to those concerned in the teaching of English.’¹⁰⁸ The success of the *Scrutiny* advertising campaign was undeniable, sparking more references to the journal in the two years surrounding its reprint than over the entire life of the journal, as Figure 6.7 illustrates.¹⁰⁹

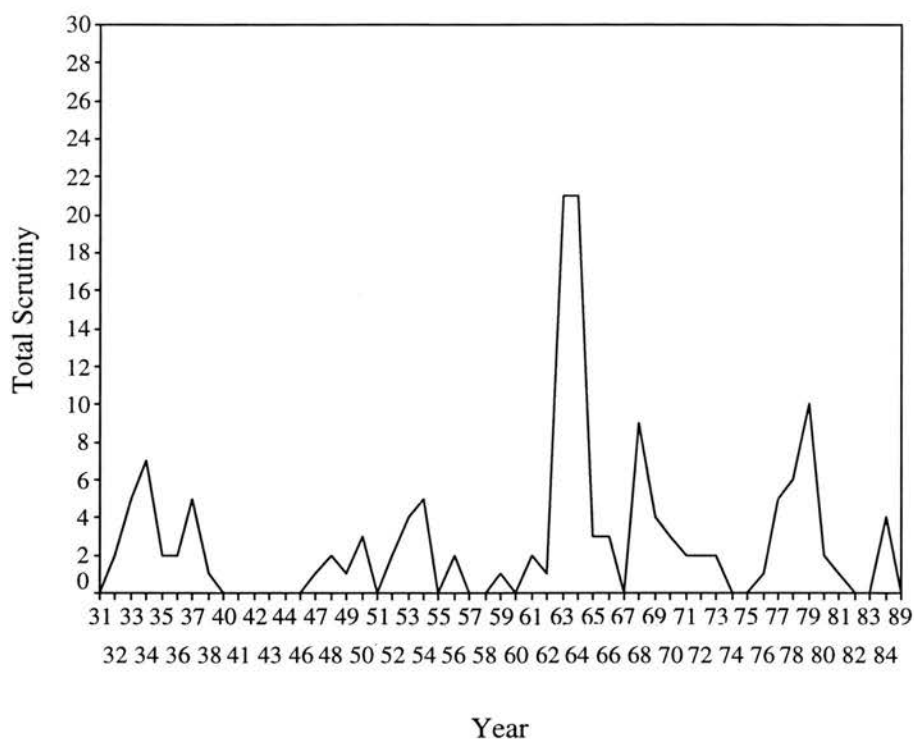


Figure 6.7: Total *Scrutiny* references from 1931 to 1989, calculated by myself from *F.R. Leavis and Q.D. Leavis: An Annotated Bibliography* (1989).

Reviews were no less important than advertisements and books were sent out to nearly one hundred periodicals, both domestic and international. In America, which was seen as the reissue's largest international market, the Press secured reviews by large-scale periodicals including *The New York Times*, *Harper's*, and *The Saturday Review*.¹¹⁰ The number of reviews produced a problem. If CUP was to have the reissue widely reviewed, it could mean significantly reducing profits if an entire set was sent out. CUP solved this problem by sending out only Volume 20 with the retrospect and index, thereby allowing reviewers a means of perusing the topics of the reissue without

depleting profits.¹¹¹ To ensure that positive reviews were forthcoming, Black went so far as to review the reissue himself in *The Use of English*. However, he need not have done so as reviews were generally positive and there were very few abstainers, save T.S. Eliot, who saw an association with Leavis as a liability.¹¹²

Eliot might also have had other reasons for abstaining as in 1967 Faber reissued *The Criterion* in its entirety. Charged at a much higher price (the US price for *The Criterion* reissue was \$225 a set compared to *Scrutiny*'s \$125), Mansbridge contemplated increasing the price to maximise profits.¹¹³ R.W. David, CUP's new Secretary to the Syndics, however, suggested a dramatically different course: dropping the price by half. But there was a concern that CUP would be accused of price fixing, so Mansbridge recommended that the price remain the same.¹¹⁴ One can understand such ambitions because the reissue was a slow selling item and took over a decade for all volumes to sell.¹¹⁵

It was the less onerous *A Selection from Scrutiny* (1968) that provided an opportunity to convert the journal's symbolic capital with fewer risks. If, with the reissue, there was a measure of tension between economic pursuit and the appearance of disavowal, with the publication of *Selection*, it was recognised that a commodity was on offer. *Selection* was issued in two volumes, with each featuring the table of contents of both volumes. With a preface in the first volume only, the consumer was thereby subtly encouraged to purchase both. Before they had even seen the volumes, they might have come across the prospectus in which a portrait of Leavis takes its place among a pantheon of famous authors, including Shakespeare, Donne, Austen, Eliot, and others. While all of the other portraits are black and white, Leavis's is rendered in red. Upon

seeing the prospectus, Leavis wrote jokingly to CUP, ‘Thank you . . . for the leaflets showing me in the red.’¹¹⁶ The reply came: ‘No aspersions on your bank balance. We had thought of the red as a sign of a sanguine temperament.’¹¹⁷ (Figure 6.8)

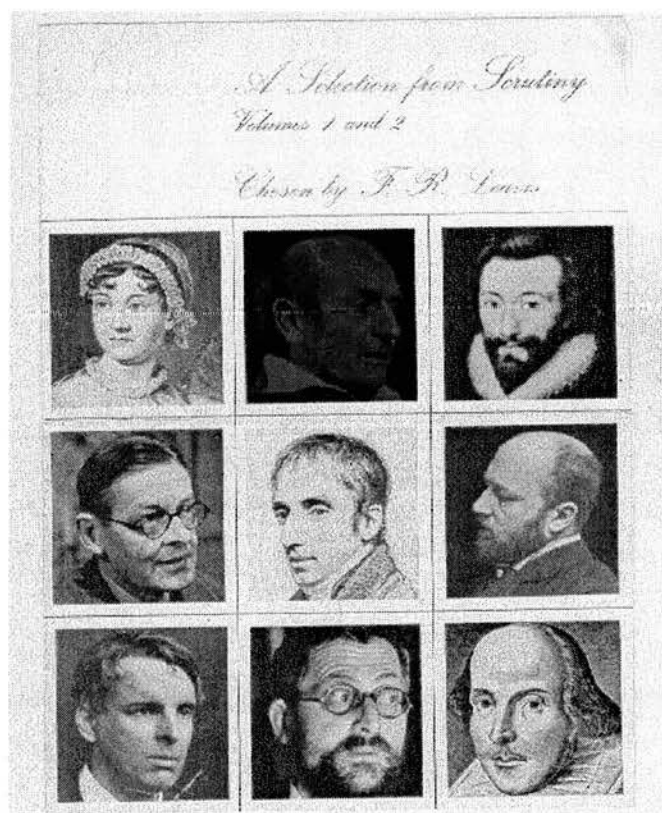


Figure 6.8: Advertisement for *A Selection from Scrutiny*, circa 1967, UCL.

According to Leavis, publicity was ‘generous.’¹¹⁸ Indeed, it was, with 16,000 prospectuses sent out to addresses that were associated primarily with education.¹¹⁹ As the general public would find *Selection* more within their means, the Press was also careful to ensure that it was sent out to a large number of newspapers and magazines for review. Copies of reviews for *Selection* were sent all over the world; including, of course, America, to thirty-seven periodicals, both large-scale and restricted production;

to Australia, twenty periodicals, such as *Age*, *Advocate*, *Australian Book Review*, and *Bulletin*.¹²⁰ In Britain, review copies were sent to the same large-scale newspapers and weeklies that reviewed the reissue.

Leavis realised the high sales potential of a collection of essays bearing the title *Scrutiny* and he tried to extract maximum economic benefit from the concept. After agreeing with Black in 1963 to edit *Selection*, he offered a *Scrutiny* anthology to an American editor, Robert Townsend, on the side. This sparked irritation in Eccleshare who was concerned that a spate of productions might ensue, particularly from America where they did not hold publication rights. Eccleshare wrote in a memo: 'It is of course possible from our knowledge of Dr. L. that he has in fact blessed the enterprise and conveniently forgotten about it. In that case or if Mr. Townsend won't back down, then I think we should seriously reconsider our own plans for [*Selection*].' ¹²¹ Later in the same memo, Eccleshare let what Bourdieu would term economic realism overrule symbolic pursuits:

If we can't stop the lot, then I am for holding our own projected volumes for two or three years, and if need be abandoning them altogether. I don't think we have any obligation to Dr. Leavis to do them or to scholarship. *We do them to make money* [italics added]. There is some slight danger that we appear to the world to have been captured by Dr. L. There is nothing to be said for appearing to scramble onto a band-wagon. There is everything to be said for letting the air clear a bit.¹²²

In the event, CUP waited four years in order to let the demand increase before publishing *Selection*, even after Leavis allowed New York University Press to publish

another single volume anthology in 1965 to be marketed in Britain.¹²³ The advantage of the single volume anthology was that it was a self-contained selection without the extra cost of a second volume. An American academic painfully reminded CUP of this after he was asked to compile a reader report on the two volume selection: 'In an undergraduate course in criticism there simply would not be room for a selection of this kind I think the one volume . . . edition would be more satisfactory.'¹²⁴ CUP editors were annoyed with Leavis for inviting competition, which they considered unjust and even illegal on grounds that only they had previously secured publishing rights for Britain. Black, traditionally Leavis's advocate, confessed that the deals on the side were a 'muddle.'¹²⁵ But, even with such competition, CUP ultimately decided to publish *Selection* partly on the 'omen' that 'the fans have supported all of Leavis' books, mostly culled from *Scrutiny*.'¹²⁶ Certainly an initial print run of 22,500 and a price of fifteen shillings paperback (forty-two shillings cloth) suggested a confidence that the Leavisites would support their figurehead.¹²⁷ To put this number in perspective, it is worth noting that Penguin—with its vast, international distribution network and low pricing—initially printed only 20,000 copies of *D.H. Lawrence* for five shillings in 1970.¹²⁸ CUP's speculation paid off and both volumes sold well for years until CUP finally ran out of stock.

IV. Liquidation

Despite the strength of the movement bearing his name, Leavis never held a position at Cambridge long enough to earn a viable pension and was, as a result, reliant on royalties to pay the bills. As he confessed to Parsons in 1956:

many thanks for the cheque. Yes, its [sic] encouraging. I say that thinking of the future (for as you know the Chancellor of the Exchequer doesn't leave me much at present)—I mean, the future of retirement on a slender pension and children still on my hands. I'm intending to get one of the books done this summer and am working on it.¹²⁹

It is clear that at this stage in his career, books became increasingly relevant as a source of income and the more he sold, the more secure his finances were. Though archival evidence of what Leavis actually made from his books is hardly complete, it is possible to acquire some sense of his earnings. As Leavis's career with Chatto progressed, terms improved. *Culture and Environment* earned Leavis only a 7.5% royalty on the first five hundred copies sold and 10% thereafter, to be shared with Thompson, his co-author.¹³⁰ For sales in the colonies, 'reduced colonial rates' came with a royalty of 5%.¹³¹ Though *Culture and Environment* sold well, the best Leavis could hope for was 5% of sales. This was not a large enough income on which to live, particularly when the book cost only 3/6, and because, in 1933, he was without a lectureship (he was not appointed until 1936) and Q.D.L. was pregnant.¹³²

Leavis commanded better terms with *The Great Tradition*. Priced at 12/6, it cost four times as much as *Culture and Environment*. Leavis was also offered a £100 advance on account of a 15% royalty for the first five-thousand sales and 20% of sales thereafter.¹³³ *The Great Tradition* marked a high-point in Leavis's career, not only because of its tremendous sales, but also because of the terms. For *Anna Karenina and Other Essays* (1967), Chatto offered Leavis a £500 advance, but only 15% on the first 3000 copies and 17.5% thereafter.¹³⁴ Terms could change even when contracts were still

in force, as was the case with *Revaluation*. When, by 1969, *Revaluation* had sold enough for Leavis to make a 20% royalty, Parsons re-negotiated for a 15% royalty on the grounds that the book cost more to reprint than it did when published in 1936.¹³⁵ Leavis often made much of his modest means, but royalties did provide an income that increased over the years. Although it is not clear where he gets his evidence for royalty statements before 1959, MacKillop claims that from the time Leavis began to publish with Chatto, ‘the annual royalties had steadily risen.’¹³⁶ Figure 6.9, based on sporadic evidence at the Chatto archive certainly bears this out, with Leavis’s earnings increasing over time.

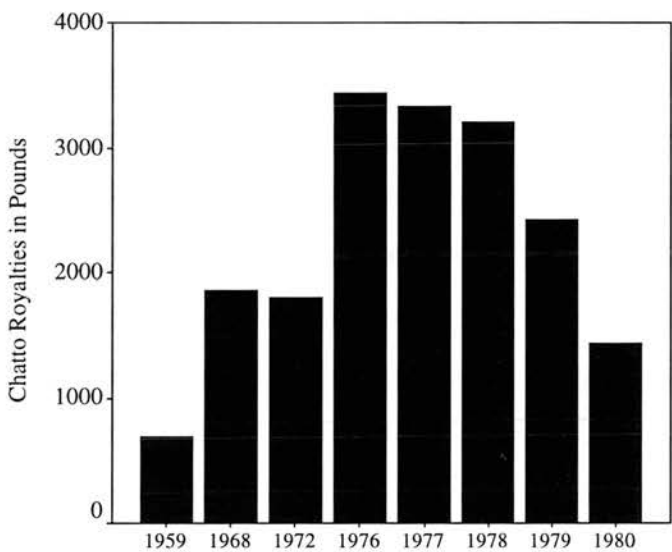


Figure 6.9: Chatto royalties in pounds. Based on URL documents circa 1980; Leavis to Parsons, 3 May 1972, URL; Parsons to Leavis, 21 March 1968, URL; Leavis to Parsons, 2 April 1959, URL.

As the figures from 1976-80 are sums of the royalties of sixteen books published with Chatto, the amount might not seem so substantial, but Leavis’s royalty income was

polarised, with best-sellers like *The Great Tradition*, *New Bearings in English Poetry*, *D.H. Lawrence: Novelist*, and *Dickens the Novelist* providing the backbone of his royalty income. Indeed, out of £13,853 total income from 1976 to 1980, seven of the sixteen books provided £10,737 of the total, such that poor performers like *Revaluation*, *Nor Shall My Sword*, and *Anna Karenina and other Essays* contributed very little. Comparing royalty income from CUP tells a different story: rather than slowly increasing, Leavis’s income dramatically increased and then, just as quickly, fell off (Figure 6.10).¹³⁷

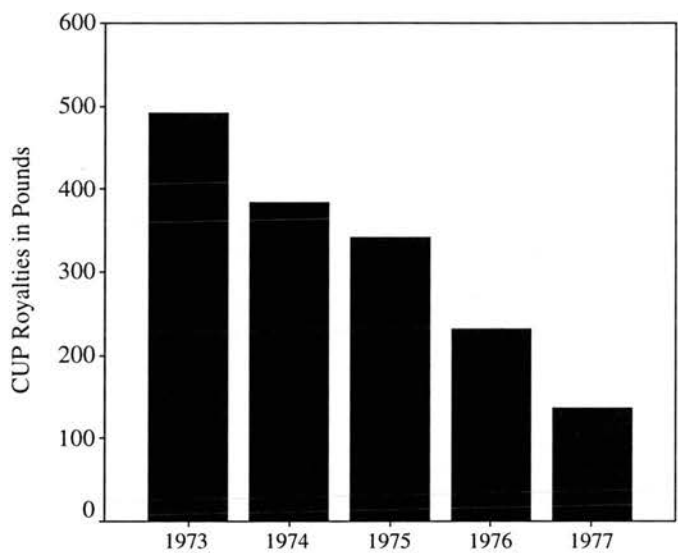


Figure 6.10: CUP royalties in pounds. UCL, CUP archive, Leavis Papers, J.G. Goode to Messrs. Barr-Ellison, 24 May 1978.

For the *Scrutiny* reissue and *Selection*, Leavis and Q.D.L. shared a 15% royalty and a 10% royalty respectively. The latter figure increased to 15% on copies over 5000. Earning 15% on a set of volumes initially costing £45 was a far cry from the non-profit

days of *Scrutiny*. Though royalty amounts are not available for 1963-72, looking at the steady decline as a trend, it seems likely that Leavis's royalty figures for 1963 and 1967 were near or over £1000. Yet, the graph also reveals that CUP did not facilitate income for Leavis in the long term, rather the opposite: printed in large numbers and eventually selling out completely (never to be reprinted), *Scrutiny* and *Selection* were certainly profitable, but only for a limited time. On the other hand, books that Leavis published with Chatto might not have their value realised immediately, but continued to sell over the years.

Despite a claim by Black that he never 'poached' on 'Chatto territory,' CUP was interested in publishing new Leavis properties.¹³⁸ Though Black himself might never have done so, CUP made an offer to Leavis to publish his Clark Lectures and Leavis declined, conspicuously, according to him: 'No; as I've told them, "the CUP certainly won't be getting my Clark Lectures. If they're published, they're C. & W.'s.'" ¹³⁹ Two years later, Leavis was true to his word and published them with Chatto as *English Literature in Our Time and the University* (1968). Though, the decision might have been conciliatory as Parsons was caught off guard when he heard Leavis was publishing *Selection* with CUP. In fact, Leavis felt it necessary to re-confirm with Parsons that Chatto would be offered *Dickens the Novelist* (1970).¹⁴⁰ Eventually, CUP did come to publish the Clark Lectures, but only after Chatto licensed the rights.¹⁴¹ Characterising Leavis properties as 'by-products of *Scrutiny*,' CUP did not feel limited to publishing only Leavis's academic lectures merely because it was an academic press; nor should they feel limited, as they published the bulk of Leavis's work with the reprint. Members of the firm showed interest in securing the reprint rights to whatever they presumed

might be available, including *Education and the University*, and *Fiction and the Reading Public*, as well as trying to convince Q.D.L. to expand her Austen essays for book publication.¹⁴²

A major drawback to publishing with Chatto was its pricing policy. Once a book was published, its price remained fixed despite inflation and could even decrease if sales were lagging. The American edition of *Revaluation*, for example, cost \$3.75 from 1947-54, decreasing in 1955 to \$2.50 and staying at that price until 1965.¹⁴³ In comparison, CUP sold single volumes of the *Scrutiny* reissue for \$6.50 and the price remained the same until they were all sold. Though the Chatto policy was not such a problem in the 1960's when inflation was 2% to 3% a year, when inflation rose to 9% in 1971, it became harder to ignore and Leavis wanted to know why it was necessary.¹⁴⁴ When Parsons responded unsatisfactorily, Leavis erupted, 'It comes as a shock that you should suppose (if you do) that your "answer" could be found satisfying.'¹⁴⁵ Parsons realised that Leavis might leave Chatto and wrote a letter engineered to promote reconciliation.¹⁴⁶ Leavis, convicted by Parsons' tone, obliquely apologised: 'my academic non-success means that inflation is an urgently and immediately practical concern for us.'¹⁴⁷

One way to offset the effects of inflation was to charge anthologies for reprinting their essays. Because of the reissue, anthology editors often sent their requests via CUP.¹⁴⁸ The Leavises' responses to these requests reveal an effort to appear to CUP as maintaining some measure of economic disinterest, while at the same time successfully converting their symbolic capital. When the publisher Bantam wanted to include one of Q.D.L.'s essays on Austen for a critical anthology on Emma, Q.D.L. upbraided the

press: 'I will certainly not allow them to have my essay on Jane Austen . . . these disgusting pieces of bookmaking by assembling other people's original criticism are indefensible from every point of view and as a university teacher I know how harmful they can be.'¹⁴⁹ But it was not only the students Q.D.L. was thinking about, reminding CUP, 'If they want to put their readers onto my work, they can mention that it is available in the CUP two-volume from *Scrutiny*.'¹⁵⁰ Leavis, as well, was worried that if he gave permission for an essay to be used that was already in print, he would limit the sales of the book for which he received a greater royalty.¹⁵¹ Leavis once gave a blanket refusal for requests to be directed to him from the Press, but insiders knew differently: 'Although he did criticise anthologies etc. in a recent reply to a permission request, he gave the permission. I think we should just go on writing requests to him as they come up.'¹⁵² CUP was right to ask. Despite Leavis's refusal, out of eleven requests for permission between 1968-77, only two were rejected.¹⁵³ Of course, when Leavis did say yes, it was always grudgingly and he only agreed after making a show of disavowal. Replying to one request, Leavis asserted: 'the industry is a curse, to be stamped out . . . but in any case, inclusion of that half of 'two [sic] Cultures' will hardly hurt sales. The contrary. So, yes.'¹⁵⁴

V. 'I, Puritanio Frenetico'

By the sixties, it is clear that the conversion of Leavis's symbolic capital had dramatically expanded his audience beyond a minority coterie. Indeed, as early as 1954, Leavis recognised his status and he proclaimed to Parsons that he was 'a major fact of contemporary literary history' and, later, that his books were 'classics.'¹⁵⁵ This is an

important realisation: to use a word like ‘fact’ is to depersonalise one’s reputation.

Though Leavis was aware that his success was due in part to the successful representation of economic disavowal, he had never before directly acknowledged to his publishers that this prestige might be distinguished from his person. In this instance, Leavis had come to regard his reputation in ‘contemporary literary history’ in much the same way that Foucault sees the author’s name as a feature of discourse, rather than a reference to an individual.

For a critic who invested his criticism with existential characteristics like ‘responsiveness’, ‘sensitivity’, and ‘maturity’ this is a significant departure; it is also unique. If, in 1954, Leavis was able to distinguish himself from ‘Leavis’ the author, after the mid sixties, he began to conflate the reputation with the man, claiming to Parsons of ‘having the prestige of one who has never made a concession.’¹⁵⁶ But of course, Leavis had, along with his publishers, engaged with the same large-scale marketing practices he had once disavowed in order to convert his symbolic capital. Significantly, his refusal to admit such concessions grew in proportion to his public recognition, as if he was trying to regain some measure of control over the reputation he had worked so hard to invent and disseminate. But more than this, I would argue that such claims were a reaction to the impossibility of disavowal. The more a reputation inaugurated by the Minority Press was absorbed by both poles in the literary field, from *The Use of English* to *The Sunday Times*, the more Leavis protested his economic innocence. Figure 6.11 is a statistical analysis of the total number of reviews, chapters, books, and articles that consider Leavis and his texts, illustrating the dramatic growth of academic and media interest in Leavis over 58 years.

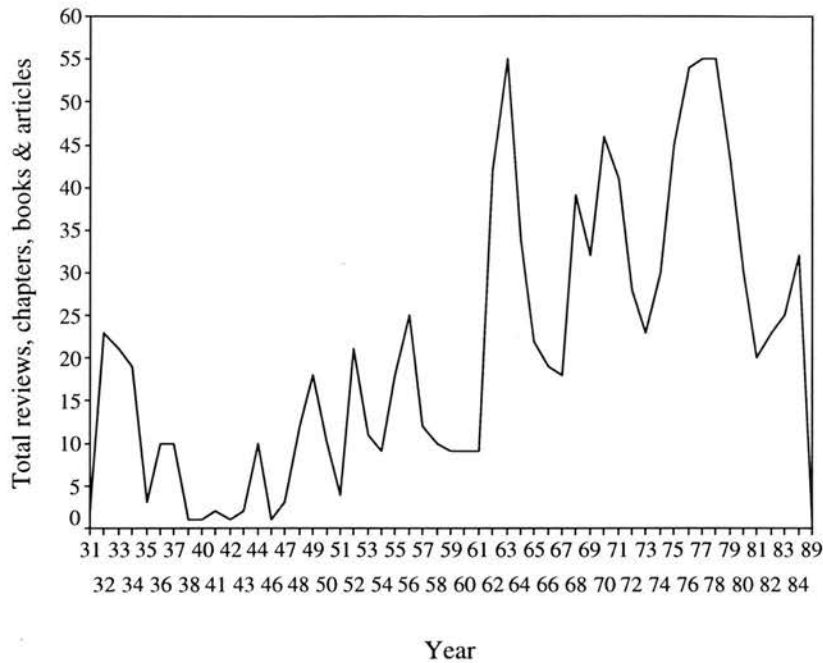


Figure 6.11: References to Leavis in the Press, calculated by myself from *F.R. Leavis and Q.D. Leavis: An Annotated Bibliography*. Sixty-five percent of the references to Leavis are from academic sources, while 35% are from large-scale publications including broadsheets like the *Guardian* and monthlies like the *New Statesman*. While the number of times that Leavis was mentioned by the large-scale publications is less than the number of times he was mentioned in the academic press, the size of the large-scale readerships (which were often hundreds of times bigger than an academic audience) means that he was less widely read about in academic publications. There were no references in the tabloid press.

Perhaps the most telling indication of Leavis's successful absorption by the large-scale press was the 'Penguinization' of his books. 'Penguinization' was a term used by the Harmondsworth publisher to describe the process by which older books

were again made profitable. In 1962, Penguin began leasing Leavis titles from Chatto and publishing them in their Peregrine series. Described by Allen Lane's biographer, J.E. Morpurgo, as a 'collection of esoteric, high-priced, high-brow . . . seemingly tautologous titles,' the series was launched with Leavis books (*The Great Tradition*, *The Common Pursuit*, *New Bearings in English Poetry*, etc.) in the hope that they would 'counter . . . developing competition from what came to be known as egghead paperbacks.'¹⁵⁷

Though the Leavis books sold well for Penguin—for example, *The Common Pursuit* sold over 15,000 copies in the first six months of existence—the Peregrine format was dismantled after only seven years, and the Leavis books were transferred to the Pelican educational series, which, incidentally, had published Bennett's *Literary Taste* in the past. If Peregrine was directed towards an educated reader with highbrow pretensions, Pelican was geared for the more general educational market. According to Penguin editor James Cochrane, they switched the Leavis titles over because they were 'confident that they [would] sell at a considerably higher rate,' and wanted to make them 'the nucleus of a substantial expansion of our list in the field of literary criticism.'¹⁵⁸ In fact, Cochrane believed in the books so much that he ordered print-runs of twenty-thousand.¹⁵⁹ Such a large quantity was in line with the Penguin practice of printing and selling 'vast numbers' in order to 'meet [the book's] costs of production.'¹⁶⁰ This procedure was not unlike Leavis's own description of a 'mass-production plant,' which 'can be worked profitably only if it is worked to its full capacity, and only if its full output is absorbed by the market.'¹⁶¹ Leavis's successful publication with Penguin indicates that he had graduated from market resistance to market saturation. But Leavis

still insisted on playing the elitist. When Lane requested that Leavis sign a book for Lane's private library, Leavis refused on grounds that Lane had done a disservice to Lawrence by publishing *Lady Chatterley's Lover*; it was not Lawrence's best work in Leavis's opinion.¹⁶²

It was supposed to be an institutional recognition of Leavis's influence as an author and teacher, but because Leavis was unable to distinguish between personality and reputation it quickly became a blemish. In 1965, the F.R. Leavis Lectureship Trust was made possible with funding from admirers and past students. Established at Downing College, the trust appointed the onetime *Scrutiny* contributor, H.A. Mason, to a full-time post to be held until retirement. Never intimately involved in the creation of the trust nor even in the selection of Mason, Leavis was a well recognised name rather than a driving force. Concurrent with the establishment of the lectureship was another venture by key members of the trust, the *Cambridge Quarterly*. In an early issue of the journal (to which Leavis contributed) ran an announcement for an essay in the next issue: 'Scrutiny's failure with Shakespeare,' along with a plea by Mason for the classics to be reintegrated into university English.¹⁶³ Leavis assumed that his name was being mischievously used to denigrate his views. Reacting as if he was facing a coup, Leavis made it well known to the trustees that Mason did not have his blessing, resulting in many trustees 'br[eaking] their covenants.'¹⁶⁴ Of course, after the earliest stages of Leavisism, its figurehead had never been in direct control (ideological or otherwise) of the wider movement, but it was only now that he exiled one time members.

As the Leavis name had gained celebrity beyond a complex of supporters, he faced a much larger problem when Chatto and Windus accepted Mason's collection of

articles first published in the *Cambridge Quarterly*, *Shakespeare's Tragedies of Love* (1970). Committed as early as 1966, Chatto was now, Leavis held, complicit in the demolition of his 'life's work.'¹⁶⁵ Leavis did not keep this belief to himself and he complained to Parsons that 'the impudence, cunning, pertinacity and callousness of that conspiracy were incredible. Chatto's [sic] are involved.'¹⁶⁶ Leavis even tried to persuade Chatto to drop Mason, though he was unsuccessful. Undaunted, Leavis believed he had the right to refuse the advertisement of the Trust to promote the book's sales and he threatened to quit Chatto if any correlation was made between Mason and himself, or *Scrutiny*:

Mason must not be associated with me—in that or any way. For one thing I want to be saved from having to make another self dissociation. The book will, I think, get some damaging reviews in any case, and to flourish my name (or *Scrutiny*) is to invite the most malignant formulation and perhaps involve me in unpleasant necessities—in defence of what I've stood for. If you have any difficulty in getting assent to the completest non-association you can say that I insist on it, and that C.&W. can't be expected to incur a breach with one of their old established authors.¹⁶⁷

Parsons realised that Leavis was not about to quit because of a critical spat. When a circular was printed associating Mason with Leavis, Leavis was furious, though he never left. Parsons had little choice as Mason's market value in part derived from his association with Leavis. At this stage in his career, Leavis's name was not necessarily his own property and Parsons felt that he now had a claim to it for the promotion of other books on his list.

Leavis's anxiety towards his growing reputation caused him to see conspiracy instead of coincidence and use every opportunity to lash out against a perceived 'Establishment.' What critics often refer to as Leavis's paranoid fear of conspiracy comes primarily from this later period in his career. Certainly, Chatto had used Leavis's reputation before to publicise names more reprehensible to Leavis than Mason's, without any complaint, such as a dust jacket for *Revaluation* that lists E.M.W. Tillyard's *The English Epic and its Background* on the back. As Parsons related to C.P. Snow when Snow complained about the Chatto publication of 'Two Cultures?', books were a commodity, not a moral choice: 'I have never thought it part of a publisher's job to take sides between critics who disagree, however violently. If I had, I shouldn't have been able to publish half the most important books of literary criticism on our list.'¹⁶⁸ Indeed, had Parsons published only Leavis, Chatto would have lost income from other Cambridge writers. This was not a point lost on Leavis:

I knew that C & W went in for Tillyard on a large scale, and that you seemed to think highly of him as a person. He was my deadly enemy—successfully and unscrupulously that; but it never occurred to me to bear a grudge against you for judging differently from I did [sic]; though I privately reflected about the way in which a publisher's criteria differed from mine.¹⁶⁹

Once describing critical practice as 'disagreement', Leavis had lost objectivity; his books became an extension of his personality and every opportunity to attack perceived opponents became irresistible. Leavis was not the only one who wanted to relive the disavowal of the past. John Tasker, a Leavisite fanatic, caused a furore when Chatto published an edited collection of Leavis's letters to the press, *Letters in Criticism* (1974).

Not only did Tasker want to label a letter of Leavis's to John Gross of the *TLS* as 'Gross by Name,' but wrote an introduction which, as Parsons angrily relayed to Leavis, was

nothing more than a maniac hatchet job on arbitrarily selected members of the 'Establishment', which is sometimes libellous, frequently repetitive and much given to the furious breaking of unimportant butterflies on wheels . . . there was absolutely no need for this kind of . . . swashbuckling Introduction which, far from supporting your critical position will only tend to discredit it by association . . . Tasker's irresponsibility and over-emphasis would merely add fuel to your opponents' fires, while acutely embarrassing your supporters . . . Would you support me in [altering] this? I sincerely hope so, for otherwise I fear Tasker would be all too ready to suppose I had 'gone over to the enemy' by not being willing to publish his piece verbatim. Quel horreur!¹⁷⁰

Parsons was so harsh not only because Leavis had seen the introduction and approved it, but also because he believed that Leavis was now trying to drag Chatto into his misguided resistance. When *Scrutiny* ceased, Leavis had lost a means to promote his outlaw status. Tasker's book offered the opportunity to once again resist the perceived establishment. Leavis felt the Chatto position was absurd and he believed that his enemies deserved severity.¹⁷¹

One of the reasons for 'entertaining suspicion' of Chatto as opposed to Tasker was that Tasker was 'without the contact, the exposures, the kind of history,' having spent 'his post degree life . . . at outposts on the frontiers.'¹⁷² Assuming that it would carry weight with Leavis, Parsons informed him that the Chatto director and onetime

Scrutiny contributor, D.J. Enright, agreed the introduction was too severe. Leavis used the opportunity to assert his disinterestedness: 'I'm not insinuating that DJE is corrupt. Merely, he had to make his way in the world as it is. I, puritanio frenetico, have survived against that world.'¹⁷³

The 'them versus us' mentality can only have been magnified when Leavis suggested that CUP publish Gary Watson's apologia of his career, *The Leavises, the Social and the Left* (1977). The book was an unsparing indictment of Leavis's critics. Michael Black, as a Leavis supporter, liked the book, but was unwilling to put his career in jeopardy by putting it forward to the syndics. He tried to convince Chatto to take it on and wrote to Enright,

Leavis did mention Gary Watson's book to me, and I listened somewhat glumly, having seen something of the book, liked it very much, but been painfully conscious of reasons why we can't take it on. Now that I see it again I like it even more. He is a remarkable young man and has done a good job. But we can't do it. Frank Kermode is a Syndic of the Press and the mental picture I have of myself saying 'Oh look Frank, here's this excellent book, and of course he's pretty devastating about you, but you don't mind really do you . . .?' Well, I can't do it. I feel depressed and poltroonish about it, but it's no good my trying to carry that one off. Are you really clear that Chatto won't either? Admittedly he knocks R. Williams for six as well, and R.W. won't think that friendly of you; but at least R.W. isn't on your board. I do think it would create a bit of a stir—inevitably. And it ought to sell

enough. Let me press you. I think you ought to do it. If you won't that makes two of us poltroons.¹⁷⁴

Chatto, along with other University presses, refused the book as well, until it was finally picked up by the cash-strapped Brynmill Publishing Company, 'as a last resort' according the book's editor, Ian Robinson, who, incidentally, was also the book's compositor.¹⁷⁵ Robinson didn't miss the opportunity to assert a restricted production status. Set by hand on 'the slowest cold-composing machine in the Western World,' Robinson believed the format appropriate for a book 'suppressed' by the 'establishment.'¹⁷⁶

Despite specific prohibitions, Leavis's persecution was largely exaggerated, and he had more supporters than critics as demonstrated by Figure 6.12, which graphs the changing opinions of Leavis in the press over the years.¹⁷⁷

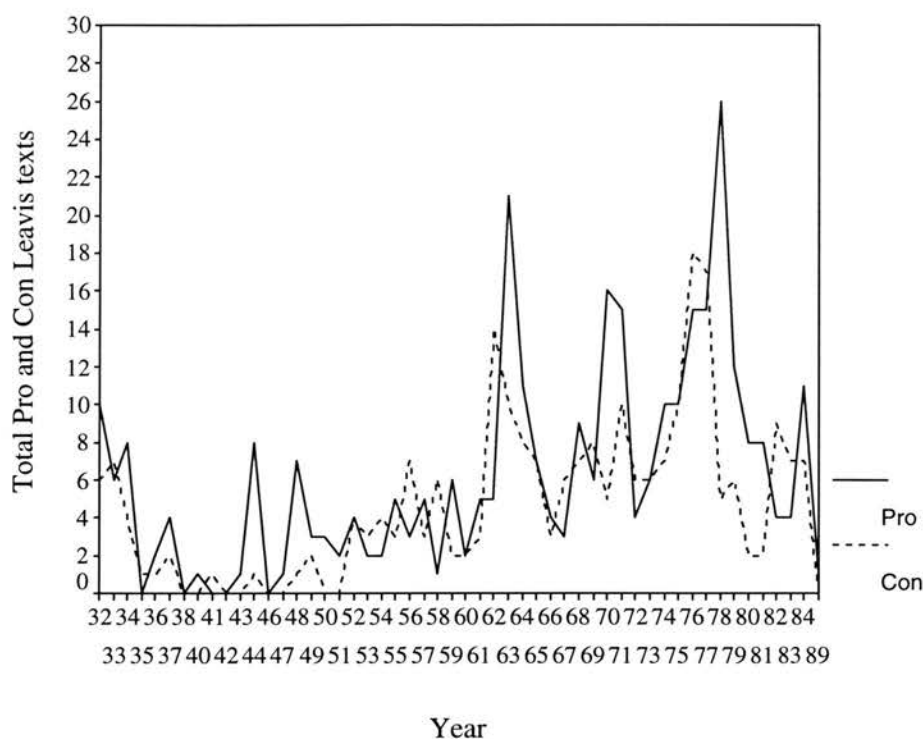


Figure 6.12: Opinion of Leavis in the Press, calculated by myself from *F.R. Leavis and Q.D.*

Leavis: An Annotated Bibliography.

The choice to focus on the negative minority was a symptom of his success, but as ‘puritani frenetici’ the Leavises hardly convinced their publishers. Q.D.L. was just as enterprising as her husband, in one instance asking Parsons if he would be interested in a book on George Eliot, consenting to do it only if the financial rewards were large enough to justify the effort.¹⁷⁸ Though Parsons encouraged her, Q.D.L. may not have thought the book worth her effort as it was never published. Certainly, of the two, Q.D.L. was by far the boldest in asking for money she believed to be rightfully hers, no matter how tenuous the claim. In *Dickens the Novelist*, the Leavises had promoted *Miss*

Marjoribanks by Margaret Oliphant. When *Miss Marjoribanks* became the BBC 'Book at Bedtime', Q.D.L., believing that the book's popularity was entirely the Leavises' own making, complained to Chatto when the BBC did not 'make any acknowledgements, much less payments,' and informed Parsons that 'an enterprising publisher' could rectify the injustice by reissuing *Dickens the Novelist*. Q.D.L. went so far to suggest that Parsons advertise it in newspapers that the Book at Bedtime public might read.¹⁷⁹

Most telling is a memorandum sent to Leavis by CUP in 1968 detailing an offer from a book club, which wanted to sell *Selection* to their members at a special price. Standing to make a considerable sum from the deal, Leavis, who had begun his career criticising the book clubs, wrote back, 'we see nothing against accepting the offer from the Reader's Subscription Inc.'¹⁸⁰ I would argue that such compromises, which came to define Leavis's own 'realistic' relationship with the market, were not reflective of a change in attitude, as much as a stage in the development of his reputation. Indeed, Leavis's concessions fulfilled Bourdieu's observation about the tendency of the successful producers in restricted production to disavow their economic position in the market in the interests of long term economic gain.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Who Owns Leavis?

In 'What is an Author?', Foucault locates the author's name at 'the contours of texts—separating one from the other, defining their form, and characterising their mode of existence. It points to the existence of certain groups of discourse.'¹ If ever there was evidence that an author is more than the person which bears the name, it was when Leavis's death on 14 April 1978 did not mark the end of the divisions regarding his reputation. In the later stages of his career and in the years following his death, many writers found it difficult to side-step Leavis's discursive presence. This situation was marked by a sectarian mindset in which one could be immediately characterised by his or her view of Leavis. This had the effect of collapsing different textual practices—whether bibliography, biography, reviewing, critical theory, or critical history—into a debate in which Leavis's name became a defining landmark. Seeing the debate as a struggle for appropriation serves to outline the various features—who had claim to the defining version of Leavis? Leavis himself? The biographers? The bibliographers? The critics? While Leavis and the biographers wanted to present a complimentary, congruous figure, the bibliographies were divided between comprehension and selection; the

critics, eager to displace Leavis from his position within academic literary criticism, were quick to assert their difference.

I. Obituary, Biography, Bibliography

Leavis's death was an event that caused no less division than his career had. In treatments that ranged from flattering to severe, Leavis was 'obitured' in more than thirteen periodicals by over thirty writers. Was he to be remembered as 'grievously mistaken and sometimes harmful,' as Kingsley Amis claimed, or 'a critic of first rank,' who 'gave new aspects to the map of feeling and recognitions,' as George Steiner remarked?² The *New Statesman* used the event as an opportunity to assess views on Leavis's reputation, and printed no less than nine obituaries, none of which was neutral. Lining up with Amis was Geoffrey Grigson who described Leavis's prose as 'cold lino worn thin in a January bathroom,' while Malcolm Bradbury saw the icon in overtly Leavisite terms, 'one of that very, very tiny handful of critics in our time who will take an essential and significant place in the great tradition of literary criticism.'³ Certainly, to gauge the lasting significance of his reputation was to take part in a Leavisian practice. This did not go unnoticed by the *Observer* when titling its set of six obituaries as 'Revaluations'.⁴

In grappling with the icon that Leavis had become, the obituaries reflected—and sometimes prefigured—the various forms of appropriation that were applied to Leavis, both before and after his death. Many of the obituaries, for example, biographise Leavis, by giving details of his experiences in the First World War, his struggles at Cambridge, his critical clashes, and his intransigent personality.⁵ Others trace Leavis's critical

development—almost bibliographically—by his books, noting *New Bearings*, *Revaluation*, *The Common Pursuit* and *The Great Tradition*. In doing so, they set out the texts that were to become the focus of critical discussions in later years. Michael Black's obituary, for example, concludes with a short but inclusive bibliography.⁶ Finally, by debating his reputation and position in literary critical history, they affirmed an attitude of interrogation towards Leavis: in the acerbity of Kingsley Amis who declared that 'few people have the stomach for writing of the recently dead otherwise than favourably, and I hope what I say here will not be taken as malicious or vengeful'; in David Lodge's dissociation of Leavis from Structuralism and Marxism; and in John Wain's installation of Leavis in a line of English critics from Arnold to Eliot.⁷

The first major attempt to biographise Leavis, 'Leavis at Eighty' by Ronald Hayman, was published in 1975.⁸ The article summarised his career, criticism, and well-known anecdotes. Leavis was still alive, however, and had the opportunity of disagreeing with Hayman. He accused Hayman of 'falsifying irresponsibility'; this charge would again be levelled by reviewers when the article was expanded into a book one year later.⁹ In order to construct a complementary identity, Leavis helped Hayman with the book by granting interviews and even writing down some of the biographical details himself. Leavis perhaps realised that he might limit factual errors and even manipulate the final outcome, but, if anything, the book was injured by Leavis's association. Totally uncritical, the book suffered from an inability to perceive the controversial career. One reviewer wrote of the book's 'untenable if not ludicrous' assertion of Leavis's critical stature, another considered it a 'scissors and paste job,' while another accused it of being 'irredeemably lightweight.'¹⁰

The next biography of Leavis, *F.R. Leavis* (1980), was written after his death by his onetime student, William Walsh. While certainly more cogent than Hayman's effort, it also suffered from Leavis's proximity and Walsh refused to find fault with any of Leavis's critical practices. As Walsh declared in the foreword, 'the purpose of this book is not to hark back over old controversies or to engage in new ones, but to define and substantiate the positive achievement of F.R. Leavis.'¹¹ Though it was more widely and positively reviewed than Hayman's book, it was still charged with 'bland piety' and a 'refusal to engage with Leavis.'¹²

It took fifteen years for the next major biography to appear. *F.R. Leavis: A Literary Biography* (1995), by G. Singh, is primarily based on unpublished letters. Singh is one of Leavis's literary executors and he maintains copyright control over the published and unpublished material—including manuscripts and some letters. Despite the obvious advantage that Singh had over Hayman and Walsh, he failed to capitalise on his resources and rarely does more than promote the idea of an embattled icon. Published in the same year, MacKillop's *F.R. Leavis: A Literary Biography* is the only biography with any distance from its subject. MacKillop draws from a vast body of evidence including interviews, letters donated by correspondents, and Leavis's own texts. Though MacKillop was once Leavis's student, his rendition of Leavis allows for a cantankerous, embattled, fervent, and occasionally misguided critic. It did not have the backing of the Leavis estate, but MacKillop's account is far more penetrating than any before it. Even so, MacKillop still promotes a Leavis totally opposed to the market by misrepresenting Leavis's thesis as an early version of *Mass Civilisation and Fiction*; MacKillop also fails to consider the economic advantages of Leavis's disavowal.

Throughout his career, Leavis was concerned that he was not being properly represented by writers critical of his work. If they would only read him in his entirety, his rebuttals often went, they would see that their censure was unjustified. While bibliography might seem an obvious means to this end, by helping to expand the known publications of and about his work, it has achieved something quite different. Like the biographies, the two major bibliographies have been written by sympathetic compilers, but it would be incorrect to imply that they necessarily cast Leavis in a favourable light. By listing each of Leavis's publications, the critical debates in which he was engaged, and responses to his articles and books, they can be seen as a move towards objectification—a means of stepping back and cataloguing the effect of Leavis's authorship on critical discourse.¹³ The first major bibliography of Leavis, *F.R. Leavis: A Check-List (1924-1964)*, was compiled by D.F. McKenzie and M.P. Allum. Considered 'preliminary' by its editors, it was hardly exhaustive, but it still laid the groundwork for future bibliographies. It included a section on sympathetic and hostile engagement with Leavis's texts, a list of known Leavis publications in their various forms, and any substantive variations between the separate editions. It was a work of affection that was offered as a 'tribute to his work as teacher and critic,' with all profits 'being given to the fund opened by the F.R. Leavis Lectureship Trust to found in Cambridge a Lectureship in English Literature bearing the name of Dr. Leavis.'¹⁴ But, given Leavis's negative perception of the Trust (discussed in Chapter Six), he viewed the *Check-List* as an attempt to defraud his name and complained to Parsons for years of the 'scandalous episode of the *Check-List*.'¹⁵

For sixteen years the *Check-List* was considered the standard bibliography. It was supplemented in 1969 by *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, edited by I.R. Willison, and in 1980 by William Baker's 'F.R. Leavis, 1965-1979, and Q.D. Leavis, 1922-1979: A Bibliography of Writings By and About them.' Much more limited in space than the *Check-List*, the section on Leavis in the *Cambridge Bibliography* is still thoroughly representative of Leavis's work and also provides a sampled range of writing about Leavis.¹⁶ Like the *Check-List*, Baker's supplement was promoted in laudatory terms, as a 'record of greatness.'¹⁷ Assembled with the help of Q.D.L. herself, Rita Spurdle of Chatto, and Singh, the supplement not only covered the interim years between bibliographies, but also included the first full bibliography of Q.D.L.'s works. Along with M.B. Kinch and John Kimber, Baker's next effort was the massive 531 page *F.R. Leavis and Q.D. Leavis: An Annotated Bibliography*, which, current up to 1984, is one of the most important texts for anyone researching the Leavises. Drawing together the *Check-List*, Baker's supplement, and hundreds of other bibliographical citations of published work by the Leavises and regarding the Leavises, it is a vast, detailed, cross-referenced resource.

These bibliographies are not the primary source for many readers of Leavis's texts. Though Leavis often petitioned readers to consider his wider *oeuvre*, his books did little to aid them, and listed only his well known publications. The bibliographies included in books about Leavis tend to parallel the treatment he receives in the main text. Hayman's superficial *Leavis*, for example, is appended by an equally superficial bibliography, while Mulhern's more complex *The Moment of Scrutiny* is followed by a bibliography listing lesser known Leavis texts. Works trying to downplay Leavis's

significance, such as Peter Widdowson's *Re-Reading English*, give twice as much space to writers like Michel Foucault and Raymond Williams, while Chris Baldick's *Criticism and Literary Theory: 1890 to the Present* gives more bibliographical space to John Middleton Murry than Leavis.

II. Remaking Leavis

Leavis's authorship has had the greatest impact on academic literary criticism. But, over the years, the name Leavis has been displaced from a position of dominance in the sub-field. If, in 1983, Terry Eagleton could claim that there was 'no more need to be a card-carrying Leavisite' than a 'card-carrying Copernican,' academic literary criticism has changed dramatically in twenty-one years.¹⁸ Eagleton wrote these words only five years after Leavis's death at the height of Leavis's reputation. Today, within academic literary criticism, the name Leavis remains current as a byword for critical intransigence, acerbity, and hermeneutical *naïveté*, and very few critics, if any, would claim Leavis as a significant influence in their work. This shift was by no means instantaneous and it is worth tracing several of the major challenges to Leavis's criticism.

At this stage it appropriate to reiterate academic literary criticism's status as a field and its consequent operation according to competitive principles—as a 'battle' for recognition and consecration. As Bourdieu argues, recognition is achieved only by asserting one's '*difference* from other producers, especially the most consecrated of them.' This dynamic is what defines critical encounters with Leavis. As *the* most recognisable name in academic literary criticism in the seventies and eighties, Leavis was invoked as the premier totem against which competing producers defined their

approaches. Discussing the way in which cultural artefacts take on a plurality of meanings within the field of cultural production, Bourdieu recognises that 'the work is indeed not made twice, but a hundred times, by all those who are interested in it, who find a material or symbolic profit in reading it, classifying it, deciphering it, commenting on it, combating it, knowing it, possessing it.'¹⁹ The concept of profiting from the remaking of a work is a concept that has immediate applications when considering the use of Leavis by academic literary critics. As various critics asserted their difference from Leavis's reputation and texts, 'Leavis' was indeed tactically remade in forms that advantaged the challengers. By representing Leavis in various critical poses, academic literary critics were able to displace him from his position of dominance within the sub-field.

In *The Leavises, the Social and the Left*, Gary Watson presents an overall persuasive case that many of the challenges to Leavis's criticism, particularly when he was alive, were intentionally oblique. Leavis was a ruthless antagonist and many critics wanted to avoid the overt, hostile rejoinders, for which Leavis became famous; of course, Leavis was not any less forgiving when challenges were indirect. Frank Kermode's 1961 review of A. Alvarez's *The School of Donne* in *The Spectator* is a good example of such an exchange. Commenting on 'the modern cult' of Donne, Kermode observes that

young people are less prone to Donne-intoxication than they were twenty years ago; it is true also that Milton and the Victorians are no longer savagely excluded from their permitted reading. Donne settles down as a major poet

among others. It is possible to write about him without revising the whole history of poetry in order to do so.²⁰

Without mentioning Leavis's name, Kermode was taking issue with his 'displacement' of Milton and the subsequent elevation of Donne. Though Kermode's claim that Milton was excluded from syllabi was, in fact, not true with regard to Leavis (Milton was *required* reading for his students), it was only a few sentences in a two-page review and Leavis could have ignored the reference. Leavis, however, decided to defend his position and wrote to the editor in the next issue,

where was Milton (where were the Victorians) ever savagely excluded from permitted reading? At Mr. Kermode's own university? . . . If I challenge his statement . . . it is because of implications it will certainly have conveyed, and have seemed intended to convey to most of the readers of his article. No one who has looked through the recent book of essays on Milton (*The Living Milton*), which he edited, and contributed to, can fail to have assumed that he had me in mind and meant his readers to have me in *their* minds.²¹

Kermode's rejoinder in the same issue, 'had it been my design to attack Dr. Leavis I should have done so and named him,' was ingenious, as it made Leavis's stance seem self-important and misguided.²² Leavis responded by proxy, via the Scrutineer Boris Ford, who again pressed the question: 'Who was this savage excluder . . . Dr. Tillyard, perhaps? Or maybe C.S. Lewis? Or that savage T.S. Eliot?'²³ Now Kermode was up against a wall: he either had to admit Leavis was his target, or prove his innocence by naming the lecturer he had in mind. It was, of course, Leavis, as Kermode coyly admitted in the next issue. Kermode's accusation was, in fact, 'give-and-take

journalism' and he explained that he 'probably should have . . . mentioned Dr. Leavis, whose plans for the "demolition" and "dislodgement" of Milton' were implied in his claim.²⁴ Kermode followed his letter with one from A.E. Dyson, who not only 'found Dr. Leavis's attack on Professor Kermode extraordinary,' but reminisced about a teacher who warned him that as a candidate for Cambridge English, 'parading a taste for Milton and Tennyson would be suicidal.'²⁵ Rather than confronting Leavis head on, Dyson's innuendo reiterated Kermode's tactic. Leavis noted this in the next issue of *The Spectator*: 'the advantage of the insinuation-technique is that it enables you to protest your innocence.'²⁶ Had Leavis challenged the insinuation, he would have confirmed 'the well-known diagnosis of persecution mania.'²⁷

Employing a repertoire of approaches imported largely from France, many British post-structuralists have ignored Leavis or, in their consideration, oversimplified his critical stance. One example of the latter is Catherine Belsey's *Critical Practice* (1980), which aligns Leavis's *oeuvre* with Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. The thread which holds a few pages of Ruskin with 'much of the critical writing of F.R. Leavis' is the 'common sense' approach of 'expressive realism.'²⁸ Although neither Ruskin nor Leavis use the term, they are, according to Belsey, both guilty of the clumsy assumption that art—whether a poem or a painting—is an unproblematic reflection of the artistic mind, clarified for readers by criticism. But, as Gary Day has demonstrated, this is a formulation of convenience that finds little resonance in Leavis's texts. Indeed, for Leavis, literary language does not reflect artistic experience as it is not 'a medium in which to put "previously definite" ideas, but [a medium] for exploratory creation. Poetry as creating what it presents, and as presenting something that stands there to speak for

itself, or rather, that isn't a matter of saying, but of being and enacting.'²⁹ Likewise, critical analysis, is much more than explication: 'what we call analysis is a creative . . . process One is engaged in discussion; discussion of?—the poem, which is there for discussion only in so far as the discussers have each for himself created it.'³⁰ Belsey's motivation for simplifying Leavis's criticism was likely related to the book's timing. Published in 1980 when Leavis's reputation in academic literary criticism was on the wane, *Critical Practice* represented a set of approaches in competition with Leavis's own. Promoting what she termed a theoretical 'Copernican revolution,' it is hardly surprising that she was quick to dismiss Leavis.³¹ Two years later, when Belsey published 'Re-Reading the Great Tradition' in Peter Widdowson's *Re-Reading English* (1982), she repeated her charge of expressive realism, though couched it differently: *The Great Tradition* does not judge novels, but 'subjectivity itself; novels as access to the identities of novelists.'³² Adding another charge, Belsey continues:

the basis of this judgement is inevitably intuitive. Present to the disinterested intelligence, humane values are already known and recognised from our own most intimate experience. Just as the great novelist 'knows,' the great critic 'knows' the novelists greatness . . . the reader therefore cannot be persuaded by argument.³³

In other words, because Leavis—or Leavis as Belsey remakes him—operates with a totally subjective critical intuition, he therefore abandons rationality. Opposing what she regards as Leavisite hegemony of the sub-field, Belsey expands her non sequitur to include 'the leaders of the community,' who are

properly equipped to recognise a hierarchy of subjectivity, mysteriously given to individuals, and judged on the basis of a knowledge not open to rational argument. By this means, a ruling elite provides itself with a sensibility which is the source and guarantee of its right to control and administer experience.³⁴

There was, of course, no Leavisite Big Brother with an ability to control the phenomenological destiny of his or her subjects. The real targets were, of course, the Leavisites in English departments who were—along with their conservative colleagues—resisting the theorisation of English Studies. This suspicion is borne out in the introduction of *Re-Reading English*. After citing Leavis as a prime influence on twentieth century criticism, Widdowson spells out the point of the book in unambiguous terms:

The primary focus of the current critique of Literary Criticism has been, quite simply, a questioning of the assumption that there is a *given* Literature of inherent value by which, if we can learn to 'read' it properly (and it is Criticism's job to teach us how), we can all be nourished I should make it clear at once, however, that this debate is by no means widespread or as potent in Literature Departments in British and American institutions of higher education as it should be, nor, despite the barrage of finely-honed theoretical work aimed at their destruction, are those departments reeling as they might be.³⁵

One critic who refrained from simplistically remaking Leavis's critical stance was Raymond Williams. Throughout Williams's intellectual journey from what

Eagleton has called his phase of 'left-Leavisism' to his eventual divergence, he has resisted taking Leavis's positions for granted.³⁶ As the Williams scholar, John Higgins, has recently argued, the common account of Williams's early Leavisism as 'probationary,' side-steps a major formative aspect of his *oeuvre*.³⁷ For Higgins, Eagleton's *Criticism and Ideology* (1976) is an example of this trend because it conceives of Williams's Leavisism as only a stage on the way to a genuine Marxism.³⁸ Williams would certainly agree with Higgins. In fact, Williams criticised Eagleton's objectification and division of his life's work into stages by pointing out that the

basic fault of the kind of formalist Marxism which Eagleton is now in is that it assumes that by an act of intellectual abstraction you can place yourself above the lived contradictions both of the society and of any individual you choose to analyse, and that you yourself are not in question . . . belief that one is above that deeply contradictory situation is a fantasy.³⁹

Eagleton's version, though in one sense accurate (and indeed Williams agreed with 'much of [Eagleton's] account'), was condescending in its externalisation of Williams's particular relationship with historical circumstances.

A more fruitful analysis would take into account that a student at late 1940's Cambridge, among Leavisites and within the reach of Leavis, was bound to be influenced, even formed, by his experience, however contradictory the result. For example, the fact that a number of Williams's contemporaries were Leavisites and Socialists at the same time, and were all 'convinced,' as Williams later commented, 'that we were the most radical element in the culture,' would no doubt influence his critical output.⁴⁰ Williams continues, 'the immense attraction of Leavis lay in his cultural

radicalism quite clearly It was the range of Leavis's attacks on academicism, on Bloomsbury, on metropolitan literary culture, on the commercial press, on advertising, that first took me.'⁴¹

It was in the companion journals, *The Critic* (1947) and *Politics and Letters* (1947-1948), which Williams edited along with Wolf Mankowitz and Henry Collins, that 'left-Leavisism' found its first expression. While *The Critic* held primarily literary concerns that were nearly indistinguishable from *Scrutiny*'s own—for example, rallying the taste of the 'intelligent reading public' via critical analyses—*Politics and Letters* attempted to transpose these concerns onto a leftist politics.⁴² That Williams would edit two separate journals implies that he perceived an important division between Leavisism and Socialism. When *The Critic* was amalgamated into *Politics and Letters* after the second number due to financial problems, this rift was not bridged. For Williams, Socialism was a way to check Leavisism, while Leavisism was a tool to refine what he considered to be blunt Marxist theory and apply it sensitively to literature.⁴³ But, by resisting both paradigms, *Politics and Letters* was in an almost impossible position. Williams himself later remarked:

We thought it was possible to combine [Leavisite criticism] with what we intended to be a clear Socialist cultural position. In a way, the idea was ludicrous, since Leavis's cultural position was being spelt out as precisely not that. But I suppose that was why we started our own review, rather than queuing up to be contributors to *Scrutiny*.⁴⁴

Leavisism, as a project concerned with an individual's personal response to literature was at odds with the more generic Socialist designs for a material and political

reformation, and vice-versa. Something would have to give as Leavis himself warned in his single contribution to *Politics and Letters*:

I am asking myself, it will be seen, what function the editors of an journal called *Politics and Letters* can define for themselves by way of justifying the name They would reply, no doubt, that it is important that political thinking should be done by educated minds and political decisions made in a cultural atmosphere that discourages the crudities and barbarisms of the raw specialist and expert, and that they aim at producing these ends . . . I sympathize with the aims I have associated with *Politics and Letters*. I only wonder, anxiously (having had some relevant experience), how long they can go on finding approaches to political and sociological questions that can profitably be made by persons of literary training.⁴⁵

When the journal ended only a year after it began, Leavis was proved right, but, crucially, Williams's response was not to abandon Leavisite tendencies. He even contributed to Thompson's *The Use of English* in 1949. His first major work, *Reading and Criticism* (1950), displayed such a strong Leavisism that a Socialist perspective was nearly unexpressed. Essentially a *Culture and Environment* for adults, *Reading and Criticism*'s genealogy was declared in the preface: 'Mr. F.R. Leavis has been largely responsible for the intelligent development of critical analysis as an educational discipline, and to his work, and that of *Scrutiny*, I am indebted.'⁴⁶ Many features of the Leavisite cultural argument were present: the condemnation of 'the popular newspaper and magazine,' 'the cinema,' 'the wireless,' 'the criterion of "pleasure",' and 'the

levelling down of response [to literature].'⁴⁷ Williams went so far as to imitate the general argument from *Fiction*, almost verbatim:

Unless our concern is with critical standards, and unless we attempt to discern when non-sense (eminent or otherwise) is being talked about a particular work, we shall be condemned to the nightmare process of the circulating library, sending in our weekly order for 'two volumes as before,' and reading for no other reason than addiction.⁴⁸

Williams's socialist proclivities were not entirely obscured, however, and it is important to realise that if he was a Leavisite, he was not totally orthodox. Indeed, the intended audience of *Reading and Criticism* was not the elite (as was the case with *Mass Civilisation* and *Fiction*) but rather the 'ordinary private reader.'⁴⁹ Though seemingly minor, the difference is important. Rhetorically—though not necessarily in actual practice—Leavis alienated the 'ordinary' reader.

Eight years later, this kernel of divergence had grown into a full-fledged attempt to move beyond Leavis with the publication of *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (1958). According to Williams, the 'primary motivation' behind it was 'oppositional—to counter the appropriation of a long line of thinking about culture to what were by now decisively reactionary positions'; chief among these positions, of course, was Leavis's own.⁵⁰ In tracing the development of 'culture' through a range of thinkers, including Burke, Mill, Carlyle, Arnold, and Ruskin (among many others), Williams was reclaiming 'culture' from the limited set of positions available to him. As Williams recalls:

My notion of writers who had used the idea of culture went no further back than Clive Bell or Matthew Arnold. The fact is that I could not go, as you can normally if you are attempting this kind of study, to any academic authorities which, even if you disagree with them, at least map out the area of the subject. There was no area.⁵¹

Though to 'map' the development of a form of writing—whether poetic, fictional, or critical—was a Leavisite practice, it was turned against the critic and helped Williams realise that Leavis's critical stance was only one possible point on a continuum. In *Culture and Society*, the foundations of Leavisism were now exposed as a construction, not an evident reality:

If there is one thing that is certain about 'the organic community,' is that it has always gone. Its period, in the contemporary myth, is the rural eighteenth century; but for Goldsmith, in *The Deserted Village* (1770) it had gone; for Crabbe, in *The Village* (1783), it was hardly 'right and inevitable'; for Cobbett, in 1829, it had gone since his boyhood (that is to say, it existed when Goldsmith and Crabbe were writing); for Sturt it was there until late in the nineteenth century.⁵²

As a result, the position Leavis occupied was problematic:

In the work of continuity and change, and just because of the elements of disintegration, we cannot make literary experience the sole test, or even the central test. We cannot even, I would argue, put the important stress on the 'minority,' for the idea of the conscious minority is no more than a defensive position, against the general dangers.⁵³

Having deviated from a Leavisite trajectory, Williams was now ready to assert a different version of 'culture' in the 'continuation' to *Culture and Society, The Long Revolution* (1961). Williams extended 'cultural' analysis to include social elements that Leavis had once avoided:

If the art is a part of the society, there is no solid whole, outside it, to which, by the form of our question, we concede priority. The art is there, as an activity, with the production, the trading, the politics, the raising of families. To study the relations adequately we must study them actively, seeing all the activities as particular and contemporary forms of human energy It is then not a question of relating the art to the society, but of studying all the activities and their interrelations, without any concession of priority to any one of them we may choose to abstract.⁵⁴

Situating literary value at the centre of his cultural politics as Leavis had led to the obfuscation of all things non-literary. Williams's broader analysis brought such components back into focus. To discuss the political and economic circumstances of literature was now on the same footing as discussing the work of literature itself. Williams was now opposed to the Leavisite project, but he was not dismissive of Leavis's work. Though Leavis did not figure as explicitly as before, he still figured in Williams's humanism. The work of literature was as important as its 'trading' because both were now 'forms of human energy,' an expression with a moral connotation not unlike Leavis's own formulations. Williams still operated in Leavisite categories and included a chapter based on Q.D.L.'s own coinage, 'The Growth of the Reading Public'. However, there was a significant alteration: *Tit-Bits* was now as symbolic a cultural

document as *The Times*. When ‘ephemeral writing’ is scrutinised in this broadened scope, the crucial question is not one of value, but one of

the circumstances in which the drug becomes necessary. I think there are certain circumstances—times of illness, tension, disturbing growth as in adolescence, and simple fatigue after work—which are much too easily overlooked in the sweeping condemnations of ‘reading as addiction.’ I doubt if any educated person has not used books—any books—in this way.⁵⁵

After *The Long Revolution*, Williams continued to recognise the position Leavis held in academic literary criticism while providing an alternative. For example, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976) adopted the Leavisite assertion of the cultural and social significance of language, but rejected the notion of linguistic ‘continuity’ between historical periods. Williams examines how words are subject to social conflict and upheavals and how their meanings registers these changes. *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence* (1970) provides an even more conspicuous alternative to Leavisism. But, as a point by point refutation of *The Great Tradition*—for example promoting Dickens as an author of primary importance, omitting James while advancing Hardy—it was an implicit recognition of Leavis’s position of dominance in the sub-field. As Williams recollects in an interview:

It was not merely that I knew *The Great Tradition* by heart. One must remember that by this time, although Leavis still thought of himself as an outsider in his last years, he had completely won. I mean if you talked to anyone about the English novel, including people who were hostile to

Leavis, they were in fact reproducing his sense of the shape of its history. So I couldn't but talk to that situation.⁵⁶

Perhaps it was a similar situation that Eagleton was referring to when he wrote that Leavis had effected a Copernican revolution. But, there was a significant difference: Eagleton dismissed where Williams engaged. Though everyone in English Studies might be 'card-carrying Leavisites,' this was little more than a eulogy of Leavisism. In *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (1983), Eagleton uses a historical perspective as a means of unseating Leavis by locating him among venerated English critics in his narrative on 'the rise of English.' In much the same way that Copernicus is hardly at the forefront of debates in astrophysics, Leavis is a relic rather than a force in academic literary criticism. In the instance that readers failed to recognise this the next chapter, 'Phenomenology, Hermeneutics, Reception Theory', abruptly shifts the focus from English critics to continental philosophers and linguists, even to the exclusion of British Cultural Studies. Chris Baldick reiterates Leavis's dismissal in *The Social Mission of English Criticism*. Though important in establishing a position for Leavis in critical history (alongside Arnold, Eliot, and Richards), the book treats him as more of a dead-end to be circumvented than of a pivotal thinker. For Baldick, Leavis is inimical to the best critical traditions:

The critical approach, which refuses to accept what is offered simply at face value, which will not rest satisfied with things as they are, was squeezed narrowly into literary criticism; social criticism in particular was blunted to conform with the implicit norms of literary 'sensibility' The title of 'criticism' was usurped by a literary discourse whose entire attitude was at

heart uncritical. Criticism in its most important and its most vital sense had been gutted and turned into its very opposite: an ideology.⁵⁷

Ironically, by placing Leavis within a pantheon of influential critics, Baldick is forming his own 'great tradition': asserting his difference from Leavis while, at the same time, performing a Leavisite analysis. As Leavis becomes remade in such an unreflecting manner, it becomes less likely that his texts will be engaged with except as an example of how not to conduct criticism. Refuting Belsey's claim that post-structuralism has brought about a lasting and desirable paradigm shift, John Needham defends Leavisite criticism, but reluctantly realises 'Leavis's limitation . . . is that he offers no 'new approach' which will yield a quick crop of publications, stave off professional boredom or even lead to a 'Copernican revolution.'⁵⁸ To cast literature nowadays in terms of 'sensibility' and 'maturity' would bring about alienation, and perhaps rightly so, as academic literary criticism risks fatuity, even irrelevance, if it remains in a predictable vocabulary.

But, in moving the discussion beyond a Leavisite grammar, one must not disregard how present practices—particularly those of Cultural Studies—have emerged from Leavisism. There has been some qualified recognition of the influence Leavisism has had on developments in Cultural Studies. For example, in 'Conditions of Their Own Making: An Intellectual History of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham' (1993), Norma Schulman briefly mentions the role that the reaction to the Leavisite argument played in early stages of the discipline by contrasting Cultural Studies' interest in working-class culture against the 'aristocratic' elitism of Leavis. But Schulman's version of Leavis was more rhetorically convenient than

accurate. Although Leavis's stance was elitist, it was not 'aristocratic' and was theoretically open to all classes. This is precisely why Williams, as an active student in the Communist party, was able to adopt a Leavisite perspective, and why Leavis, during the initial stages of *Scrutiny*, could actually write the words 'I agree with the Marxist.' In the early days of Cambridge English, to argue for an elitism in which class does not determine one's position was, to use Williams's description, 'radical'. To whom else was a young Communist to turn for his critical development? At a time when Tillyard was known for discussing Lamb's criticism in terms of upper-class accoutrements, Leavis was the only notable member in the English Faculty who was willing to consider that a form of classlessness was even possible or desirable.

Concurrent with the institutionalisation of Leavisism in the sixties was the foundation of Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was affected by its Leavisite context. In his inaugural address, Richard Hoggart, the first director of the Centre, called for an approach that had 'something in common with several existing approaches but [which was] not exactly any one of them.'⁵⁹ It was to include the 'historical and philosophical' the 'sociological' and 'the literary critical.'⁶⁰ Hoggart saw several key questions arriving from this combination:

- a) About writers and artists: Where do they come from? How do they become what they are? What are their financial rewards?
- b) What are the audiences for different forms?
- c) What of the opinion formers and their channels of influence? . . . the guardians, the elite, the clerisy?
- d) What about the organization for the production and distribution of the written and spoken

word? What are their natures, financial and otherwise? Is it true, if so what does it mean practically (whatever it may mean in imaginative terms) to say that the written word (and perhaps all the arts) are progressively becoming commodities?⁶¹

Though the answers (and the methods) were completely different for a Leavisite than a Marxist, such questions were posed first by the Leavises in texts like *Fiction*, *Mass Civilisation*, and *Culture and Environment*. As Cultural Studies began to be informed more and more by the political activism of the New Left in the late fifties and early sixties (such the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), the emergence of the *New Left Review*, and the introduction of Marxist texts in the sixties like Althusser's *For Marx* and Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, Cultural Studies began to be informed by a more complex Marxist outlook and relied less and less on Leavisite formulations. Stuart Hall argues that Cultural Studies is informed by 'multiple discourses; it has a number of different histories. It is a whole set of formations; it has its own different conjectures and moments in the past.'⁶² In one sense this is an accurate description of a diverse group of practitioners which employ approaches with distinct histories like Marxism, Feminism, Deconstruction, Structuralism, and Psychoanalysis. But it is important not to forget that, even in their radical distinction from Leavisism, the introduction of new theoretical perspectives are mapped onto the academic analysis of popular culture that, in Britain, began not with the *New Left Review* or the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, but with the Leavises.

Introduction

- ¹ Paul Binding, 'Revaluation', *Times Literary Supplement*, 11 April 2003, pp. 14-15, (p. 14)
- ² W.S. Milne, 'F.R. Leavis and Geoffrey Hill', *TLS*, 18 April 2003, p. 17.
- ³ Stefan Collini, 'The Critic as Journalist: Leavis after *Scrutiny*' in *Grub Street and the Ivory Tower* ed. Jeremy Treglown and Bridget Bennett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 151-176 (p. 158).
- ⁴ The cover to one such Penguin edition of *The Common Pursuit* shows entrenched phalanx of a small but unified set of arrows (the minority) holding the centre against the larger arrows (the masses) bringing with them swirls of discord and chaos. (See Figure 1 in the Appendix)
- ⁵ Randal Johnson, 'Editor's Introduction' in Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 1-25 (p. 6).
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ⁷ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 115.
- ⁸ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 74.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Chapter One

- ¹ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 5.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ *Ibid.* pp. 261-262.
- ⁴ Aside from Joyce, D.H. Lawrence, the son of a miner and school teacher, is a good example of cultural aspiration.
- ⁵ Biographical information is taken from Ian MacKillop, *F.R.. Leavis: A Life in Criticism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995)
- ⁶ *F.R.. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 37.
- ⁷ J.W. Hales, quoted from Chris Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 62.
- ⁸ Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 369.
- ⁹ Whereas previous social ideals, according to Perkin, favoured the upper-class attributes of patronage and the ownership of property and capital, the middle classes saw university degrees as a means to level the playing field. Theoretically, a member of the middle classes (or in a small number of cases, the working classes), armed with a university education, would have as much of a chance to succeed in a career as a member of the upper classes. p. 8.
- ¹⁰ *The Teaching of English in England* (London: HMSO, 1921), pp. 216-217.
- ¹¹ *The Muse in Chains*, p. 204.
- ¹² E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained* (London: Bowes, 1958), p. 28.
- ¹³ Basil Willey, *Cambridge and Other Memories* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1968), p. 14.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ¹⁸ *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 58. Considering the historical nature of the English Tripos, MacKillop also quotes from Cambridge's annual *Student's Handbook*: 'The student . . . will do well not to limit his reading exclusively to the subjects directly required in the examination. He should give up some part of his time to the study of general literature and history, and more especially to reading good translations of Classical literature.' p. 59.
- ¹⁹ E.M.W. Tillyard, *Lamb's Criticism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1923), p. xiv.
- ²⁰ *The Muse Unchained*, p. 81. 'Wide interpretation' no doubt allowed them much needed latitude in their supervisions to maintain the presence of expertise. Of Tillyard's supervisions, Basil Willey writes: 'Tillyard seemed to us immensely wise and well read; I can see now, of course, that he was improvising

valiantly, and was often hard-pressed to keep up with the supervisions.' *Cambridge and Other Memories*, p. 15.

²¹ Tillyard writes: 'within the new number of recruits was a group which was both agreed in principle and which, quite by accident, was able to do what it wanted. That group I have already hinted at; it was of Forbes, Richards, and myself.' *The Muse Unchained*, p. 81.

²² *The Teaching of English in England*, p. 217.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁰ For an extensive discussion of these changes, see David Shayer, *The Teaching of English in Schools* (London: Routledge, 1972) pp. 74-86.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³² Quoted from *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 73.

³³ For example, see Saintsbury's *The English Novel* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913), which begins with *The Odyssey*. In another book, *Nineteenth Century Literature* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), where he does strive to temporally limit his efforts, he expands 'literature' to include scientific texts like *The Origin of the Species*.

³⁴ Quoted from *The Muse Chained*, p. 129.

³⁵ George Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1900), 1, p. 3.

³⁶ John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969), p. 142.

³⁷ As a early, central text of oenophily, it is this book that has secured his contemporary reputation, remaining in print up until 1978, and even inspiring the creation of Californian Vineyard, as well as a whisky.

³⁸ Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of English Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. i.

³⁹ Arthur Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', *The Oxford Book of Victorian Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. vii-xv (p. x).

⁴⁰ A.C. Benson, quoted from *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 54.

⁴¹ Ronald Hayman, *Leavis* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 5.

⁴² *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, pp. 71-72.

⁴³ F.R. Leavis, 'The Relationship of Journalism to Literature: Studied in the Rise and Earlier Development of the Press in England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1924), p. ii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. i; p. iv.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Richard Steele, *Tatler*, No. 172, quoted from 'The Relationship of Journalism', p. 194.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁵⁶ George Santyana, *Reason in Art* (London: Constable, 1905), p. 201, quoted from 'The Relationship of Journalism', p. iv.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. vi; p. v.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

- ⁶⁰ Anonymous, *Tatler*, No. 450, quoted from 'The Relationship of Journalism', p. 220.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Anonymous, *Tatler*, No. 1, quoted from 'The Relationship of Journalism', p. 168; p. iii.
- ⁶³ Ibid., p. 174.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 176.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., p. vii.
- ⁶⁶ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 41.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Charles Augustine Sainte Beuve, in *Masters of Modern French Criticism*, ed. by Irving Babbitt (London: Constable, 1913), p. 100, quoted from 'The Relationship of Journalism', p. 338.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 333.
- ⁷⁰ Arnold Bennett, *New Age*, 8 September 1910, quoted from, 'The Relationship of Journalism', p. 337.
- ⁷¹ Bennett goads the highbrow writer: 'The same dilettante spirit which refuses to see the connection between art and money has also a tendency to repudiate the world of men at large, as being unfit for the habitation of artists. This is a still more serious error of attitude—especially in a storyteller.' Arnold Bennett, *The Author's Craft* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), p. 125.
- ⁷² 'The Relationship of Journalism to Literature', p. 335.
- ⁷³ Ibid., p. 337.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 338.
- ⁷⁵ F.R. Leavis, 'Restatements for Critics', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1933), pp. 315-23 (p. 320).
- ⁷⁶ I.A. Richards, *Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgement* (London: Kegan Paul, 1929), p. 6.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Of a poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay, Leavis writes: 'It opens with Browning's brisk no-nonsense-about-me directness and goes on with a cocksure movement and hearty alliteration. It contains . . . echoes of all the best people. It is full of vacuous resonances . . . and the unctuously poetic.' *Practical Criticism*, p. 78. Earlier, in 1924, Richards had published *Principles in Literary Criticism* a book that, with its consideration of criticism as a moral preoccupation, also had a great influence on Leavis, though, this influence was not manifested in his published work until 1930 when Leavis developed *Mass Civilisation Minority Culture* along similar lines.
- ⁷⁹ F.R. Leavis, 'Verse', review of Osbert Sitwell, *England Reclaimed* (London: Duckworth, 1927) and F.R. Higgins, *The Dark Breed* (London: Macmillan, 1927), *The Cambridge Review*, 18 November 1927, p. 114.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ T.S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', in *The Sacred Wood* (London: Methuen, 1960), pp. 47-59 (p. 49).
- ⁸² The second reason that Lucas gives is 'that he holds very distinct and reasonably dogmatic opinions, and evidently writes from his mind rather than from his 'dark inwards' or 'the red pavilion of his heart.' Anonymous (F.L. Lucas) review of T. S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes* (London: Faber, 1928) in *The New Statesman*, December 29, 1928. pp. 387-88. (p. 387).
- ⁸³ T.E.B. Howarth, *Cambridge Between Two Wars* (London: Collins, 1978), p. 88. For Leavis, Lucas perhaps personified frustrations he was experiencing as a proponent of Modernist literature, though there were others. T.R. Henn of St. Catherine's, a member of the English faculty, gave a paper asserting the 'vulgarity of most of Eliot's work, all the more pernicious since cloaked by an austere and pseudo-learned style.' Ibid. p. 88.
- ⁸⁴ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 83. In a memoir, Q.D.L. recalls that 'Leavis was known to be interested in and widely read in Contemporary literature, had been early co-opted on to the Union Library Committee that recommended new books for inclusion (and had large funds) and had taken great trouble and spent considerable time reading and sifting new literature for the purpose. He did not recommend indiscriminately. At this point he was uncivilly ejected—no grounds given. However, an academic friend of ours, on social terms with the wife of one of the committee members for another subject, confided that it was because "Dr. Leavis recommended such peculiar books"—implying moral condemnation. When asked to specify some of these the lady mentioned "books like *The Waste Land* and *The Sacred Wood*,

authors like D.H. Lawrence and T.F. Powys and those war-poets like Sassoon and Blunden.” G. Singh, *F.R. Leavis: A Literary Biography* (London: Duckworth, 1995), p. 30.

⁸⁵ F.R. Leavis, ‘T.S. Eliot: a Reply to the Condescending’, *The Cambridge Review*, 8 February 1929, pp. 254-56 (p. 254).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, p. 49.

⁸⁸ Bourdieu, for example, writes of ‘the relatively autonomous field of production and the pure aesthetic it makes possible.’ *The Rules of Art*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 301.

⁸⁹ ‘T.S. Eliot: A Reply to the Condescending’, p. 256.

⁹⁰ Though Eliot uses such vocabulary in *The Sacred Wood*—‘It is part of the business of the critic to preserve *tradition* [ital. added],’ (p. xv)—and in *For Lancelot Andrewes* when discussing the humanism of Babbitt—‘Mr. Babbitt is a stout upholder of tradition and continuity’—he never overtly draws the conclusions that Leavis does. T.S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes* (London: Faber, 1930), p. 129.

⁹¹ ‘T.S. Eliot: A Reply to the Condescending’, p. 256.

Chapter Two

¹ Figures taken from Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 23-24.

² These problems included the death of Gerald Mills in 1928, which almost resulted in a take-over of the firm, and a forty-five percent decrease in sales after the War.

³ For a detailed history of the firm, on which these comments are based, see “‘Take the Place of Valium’: Mills and Boon Ltd.’ in *Popular Reading and Publishing*, pp. 100-132.

⁴ Anonymous, *The Bookseller*, 20 May 1950, 1078, cited from *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 111.

⁵ Cited from *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 106.

⁶ *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 166.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Figures taken from W.E. Williams, *Allen Lane: A Personal Portrait* (London: The Bodley Head, 1973), p. 46.

⁹ J.E. Morpurgo, *Allen Lane: King Penguin* (London: Hutchison, 1979), p. 85.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

¹¹ William Emrys Williams, *The Penguin Story* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), p. 60.

¹² Ibid., p. 12.

¹³ Laura Riding, quoted from Roderick Cave, *The Private Press* (London: Faber, 1971), p. 202.

¹⁴ John Rodker, quoted from *The Private Press*, p. 212.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930), p. 14.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ I.A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism* (London: Kegan Paul, 1924), p. 4.

¹⁹ Richards warns the reader expecting such language: ‘My book, I fear, will seem to many sadly lacking in the condiments which have come to be expected in writings on literature. Critics as even theorists in criticism currently assume that their first duty is to be moving, to excite in the mind emotions appropriate to their august subject matter. This endeavour I have declined. I have used, I believe, few words which I could not define in the actual use which I have made of them, and necessarily such words have little or no emotive power. *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 3.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 1.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 3. Another important member of the school, E.M.W. Tillyard, can also be considered an aesthetic critic, but with the qualification that he tended to follow the critical fashions, while Richards,

Empson, and Leavis sought new positions relative to each other as well as the rest of the sub-field. His first publication, *Lamb's Criticism* (1923), compared and contrasted critics after the style of T.S. Eliot's *The Sacred Wood*. Another work, *Poetry: Direct and Oblique* (1934), imitated Empson's analysis of poetry according to a singular theoretical principle.

²⁶ W.W. Greg, 'The Function of Bibliography in Literary Criticism Illustrated in a Study of the Text of King Lear', *Collected Papers*, ed. by J.C. Maxwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 267-297 (p. 268).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ W.W. Greg, 'Bibliography: An Apologia' in *Collected Papers*, pp. 239-266 (p. 241).

²⁹ Q.D.L. reserves her most colourful vehemence for the bazaars: 'A selection of the Reader's Library is now sold by most newsagents, but the chief sale of these libraries is still at the bazaars. Here, while passing from counter to counter to buy cheap crockery, strings of beads, lamp-shades, and toffee, toys, soap and flower-bulbs and under the stimulus of 6d. gramophone records filling the air with 'Headin' for Hollywood' and 'Love Never Dies', the customer is beguiled into patronising literature.' Ibid., p. 29.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

³¹ Ibid., p. 29.

³² Ibid., p. 78.

³³ Ibid., p. 80.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 112.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 117.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 129.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 133.

³⁹ J.M.S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800* (London: Methuen, 1962), p. 1. First published in 1932, the same year as *Fiction and the Reading Public*, it is unlikely that Tompkins consciously intended *The Popular Novel* to disprove Q.D.L.'s work, though, at the time, it offered an alternative history to Q.D.L.'s.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴¹ Robert Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines: 1740-1815*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 3.

⁴² Ibid., p. 356.

⁴³ F.R. Leavis, *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture*, in *Education and the University*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948), pp. 143-71 (pp. 170-171).

⁴⁴ *Fiction*, p. 215.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 214.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 215.

⁴⁷ F.R. Leavis, 'Scrutiny: A Manifesto', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 2-7 (p. 2.)

⁴⁸ See *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 118.

⁴⁹ *Culture and Anarchy in Matthew Arnold: Selected Prose*, ed. by P.J. Keating (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 202-300 (p. 205; p. 209).

⁵⁰ Though, in a few passages of *Culture and Anarchy*, Arnold does associate culture with literature, for example when he notes that 'culture is of like spirit with poetry, follows one law with poetry,' or when considering that 'Greece and Greek art suggest the admirable ideals of perfection.' Ibid., p. 213.; p. 237.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 209.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 225.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 251.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 257.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 226.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Essays in Criticism from Matthew Arnold: Selected Prose*, pp. 126-174 (p. 134).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 183.

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- ⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 106-108.
- ⁶² Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern*, ed. by Sean Burke (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 233-46 (p. 241).
- ⁶³ *Mass Civilisation*, p. 143.
- ⁶⁴ Jòse Ortega y Gasset, *The Dehumanization of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 7.
- ⁶⁵ George Gissing, *New Grub Street* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 38.
- ⁶⁶ *Mass Civilisation*, p. 145.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 144.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ 'Essays in Criticism', p. 152.
- ⁷⁰ Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, quoted from *Mass Civilisation*, p. 143.
- ⁷¹ *Mass Civilisation*, p. 169.
- ⁷² Ibid., p. 146.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 148.
- ⁷⁶ Hamilton Fyfe, *Northcliffe: an Intimate Biography* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1930), p. 272, quoted from *Mass Civilisation*, p. 148.
- ⁷⁷ *Mass Civilisation*, pp. 144-45
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 158.
- ⁷⁹ Harold Monro, *Twentieth Century Poetry: An Anthology* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1929), quoted from *Mass Civilisation*, p. 157.
- ⁸⁰ F.R. Leavis to Ian Parsons, 25 August 1931, Leavis Papers, University of Reading Library (hereafter URL). Leavis was likely referring to the Harvard social and literary thinker Irving Babbitt (1865-1933), poking fun at Bennett's pretensions to an elevated discourse.
- ⁸¹ *Mass Civilisation*, p. 153.
- ⁸² Ibid., p. 156.
- ⁸³ For example, both Q.D.L. and he promoted the now obscure novelist, T.F. Powys (Q.D.L. categorised him with Woolf, Joyce and Lawrence), and perhaps more famously, the failed poet Ronald Bottrall whom Leavis considered in depth within the pages of *Scrutiny* and, even when it had become clear that he was not to be included in any modern canon, still dared to promote him as an inheritor of Eliot in *New Bearings*. 'Retrospect 1950', p. 167, ff. 1.
- ⁸⁴ Arnold Bennett, *Literary Taste: How to Form It* (London: Frank Palmer, 1910), p. 9.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 23.
- ⁸⁶ *Mass Civilisation*, p. 143.
- ⁸⁷ *Literary Taste*, p. 26.
- ⁸⁸ *Mass Civilisation*, p. 159.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 164.
- ⁹¹ As Nick Selby notes, both *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses* 'are notorious for their many difficulties, for their disdain of literary propriety . . . They have come to epitomise the high point of an avant-garde literary and artistic movement.' Nick Selby, 'Introduction', *Icon Critical Guides: The Waste Land* (Cambridge: Icon, 1999), pp. 7-13 (p. 7).
- ⁹² *Mass Civilisation*, p. 164.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ F.R. Leavis *New Bearings in English Poetry* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972), p. 72.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 73.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 80.
- ⁹⁸ F.O. Matthiessen, *The Achievement of T.S. Eliot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 46.
- ⁹⁹ Cleanth Brooks, 'The Waste Land: Critique of the Myth' in *T.S. Eliot: Critical Assessments*, 4 vols, ed. Graham Clarke, (London: Christopher Helm, 1993) 2, pp. 212-236.

¹⁰⁰ David Craig, 'The Defeatism of *The Waste Land*', in *T.S. Eliot: Critical Assessments*, pp. 278-89 (p. 279).

¹⁰¹ Anthony Easthope, 'The Wasteland as Dramatic Monologue', in *T.S. Eliot: Critical Assessments*, pp. 340-55 (p. 340).

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Edmund Wilson wrote 'The Poetry of Drouth', *The Dial*, 73 (December 1922), pp. 611-16; Harriet Monroe, 'A Contrast', *Poetry*, 21 (1923), pp. 325-30 (p. 326); Gilbert Seldes, 'T.S. Eliot', *Nation*, 6 (December 1922), pp. 615-616; John Crowe Ransom, 'Waste Lands', *New York Evening Post Literary Review*, 14 July 1923, pp. 825-26; Edgell Rickword, 'A Fragmentary Poem', *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 September 1923, p. 616; Gorham B. Munson, 'The Esotericism of T.S. Eliot', 1924, 1 July 1924, pp. 3-10.

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous, 'Review of *The Waste Land* and notice of the first issue of the Criterion', in *T.S. Eliot: Critical Assessments*, pp. 65-66 (p. 65).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', p. 50

¹⁰⁷ *New Bearings*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 150.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 151.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 105.

¹¹² F.R. Leavis, 'Literary Criticism and Philosophy', *The Common Pursuit* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 213.

¹¹³ In a *Scrutiny* review Leavis denigrates Auden's *The Ascent of F6* on the grounds that 'it is Mr. Eliot's gifts we are aware of, for the play is heavily parasitic upon both the Eliot of *Sweeney Agonistes* and the Eliot of the Choruses.' F.R. Leavis, 'Mr. Auden's Talent', review of W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *The Ascent of F6: A Tragedy in Two Acts* (London: Faber, 1936), *Scrutiny*, 5 (1936), pp. 325-27 (p. 325). Auden is also criticised in terms of being unsuccessful where Eliot excelled: 'one realizes that Auden is attempting to diagnose the spiritual malady of an age with the experiential equipment of the man on the street' or again, in the same review: 'he becomes involved in a complex of ideas which he has neither the intellectual sweep nor the emotional integrity to assimilate.' R.G. Lienhardt, 'Auden's Inverted Development', review of W.H. Auden, *For the Time Being* (London: Faber, 1945), *Scrutiny*, 13 (1945), pp. 138-42 (pp. 140-141).

¹¹⁴ F.R. Leavis, 'Progress of Posey', *Scrutiny*, 15 (1948), pp. 310-314 (p. 310).

¹¹⁵ T.S. Eliot 'A Commentary', *The Criterion*, 11 (1932), pp. 676-83 (p. 680).

¹¹⁶ *New Bearings*, p. 166.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 169.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 167.

¹²¹ F.R. Leavis, 'Valedictory', *Scrutiny*, 19 (1953), pp. 254-57 (p. 257).

¹²² Malcolm Bradbury, *The Social Context of Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 188.

¹²³ J. Isaacs, *The Background of Modern Poetry* (London: G. Bell, 1951), p. 1.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

Chapter Three

¹ For a discussion of *Scrutiny*'s anti-Marxist stance see Ian Wright, 'F.R. Leavis, The *Scrutiny* Movement and the Crisis', in *Culture and Crisis in Britain in the Thirties*, ed. by Jon Clark, Margot Heinemann, David Margolies, and Carole Snee (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1979), pp. 37-59. Like many discussions of *Scrutiny*, Michael Bell's *F.R. Leavis* is careful to mention the date and then move quickly into a discussion of authors found 'wanting' by Leavis. pp. 6-7.

² *Fiction*, p. 32.

- ³ *The Field of Cultural Production*, Ibid., p. 53.
- ⁴ Ibid., p. 102.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 53.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, p. 234.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Edward Marsh, *A Number of People* (London: William Heinemann, Hamish Hamilton, 1939), p. 321.
- ¹⁰ See Timothy Rogers, 'Introduction', *The Critical Heritage: Georgian Poetry 1911-1922*, ed. by Timothy Rogers (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-48 (pp. 9, 15).
- ¹¹ Robert Ross, *The Georgian Revolt* (London: Faber, 1965) p. 128.
- ¹² Frank Swinnerton, *The Georgian Literary Scene* (London: Heinemann, 1935), p. 277.
- ¹³ Anonymous, 'J.M.R., A Nice Boy', *The Granta*, 8 November 1929, p. 95, quoted from 'Introduction', *The Critical Heritage*, p. 37.
- ¹⁴ Quoted from Edward Bishop, 'Re:Covering Modernism – Format and Function in the Little Magazines' in Ian Willison, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik, *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 287-319 (p. 288).
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Terry Eagleton, 'Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism', in *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*, ed. by David Lodge (London: Longman), pp. 385-398 (p. 392).
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 3.
- ¹⁹ Lawrence Rainey, 'The Price of Modernism: Reconsidering the Publication of *The Waste Land*', *Critical Quarterly* 31 (1989), pp. 21-47 (p. 38), quoted from Paul Delaney, 'Who Paid for Modernism?' in *The New Economic Criticism*, ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Mark Osteen (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 335-351 (p. 343).
- ²⁰ 'Who Paid for Modernism?', p. 343.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 344.
- ²² Cedric Watts, 'Marketing Modernism: How Conrad prospered', in *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*, p. 82.
- ²³ 'Who Paid for Modernism?', p. 342.
- ²⁴ Anonymous, 'Long Live the Vortex!', *Blast*, 1 (1914), p. 2
- ²⁵ Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- ²⁶ In fact, *Blast* published Eliot when he was hardly known; the first appearance of 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night'. One of the major reasons for *Blast*'s pre-eminence among modernist journals is its list of contributors. Aside from writers like Eliot and Pound, it had also started to serialise Ford Madox Hueffer's *The Saddest Story*, which was later published as *The Good Soldier*.
- ²⁷ Anonymous, 'Artists and the War', *Blast*, 1 (1915), pp. 23-24 (p. 23).
- ²⁸ Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, 'Vortex', *Blast*, 1 (1915), pp. 33-34 (p.33). Curiously, Robert Ross has, with ellipses in appropriate places, interpreted the poem as 'a sympathetic, human document, warm with humility, bright with new insight.' *The Georgian Revolt*, p. 68.
- ²⁹ It is likely that design of this advertisement in particular was a result of Pound's affiliation with *The Egoist*. As an editor, he could determine the appearance of advertisements. Other magazines advertising in *Blast* were not so permissive. In the same issue, an advertisement for 'Mr. John Lane's Publications' adheres to a more common design, with a list of published works and their authors in a smaller size font.
- ³⁰ F.R. Leavis, 'The Literary Racket', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 166-68 (p. 168).
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 167.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ F.R. Leavis, 'Babbitt Buys the World', review of *The Work, The Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (London: Heinemann, 1932), *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 80-83 (pp. 80-83).
- ³⁴ F.R. Leavis, 'A New "Establishment in Criticism?"', *The Listener*, 1 November 1956, quoted from *Letters in Criticism*, ed. by John Tasker, (Chatto: London, 1974), p. 53.

- ³⁵ F.R. Leavis, *The Common Pursuit*, p. v.
- ³⁶ René Wellek, 'Literary Criticism and Philosophy', *Scrutiny*, 5 (1937), pp. 375-83 (p. 375).
- ³⁷ 'Literary Criticism and Philosophy: A Reply', *Scrutiny*, 6 (1937), pp. 59-70, (p. 59).
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- ³⁹ Huntley Carter, 'Art-Passion, Patronage & Pay', *The Egoist*, 1 (1914), pp. 58-59, (p. 58).
- ⁴⁰ Ezra Pound, 'The New Sculpture', *The Egoist*, 1 (1914), pp. 67-68 (p. 68).
- ⁴¹ Ezra Pound, 'Wyndham Lewis', *The Egoist*, 1 (1914), p. 233-34 (p. 233). Pound was promoting Lewis as 'one of the greatest masters of design yet born in the occident' and defending him from a need to be accessible to all.
- ⁴² A. Wilcox, 'Us—and Standard Ideas', *The Egoist*, 1 (1914), p. 78.
- ⁴³ Anonymous, *The Egoist*, 1 (1914), p. 79.
- ⁴⁴ I suspect one of the reasons that the *Egoist* is remembered for this is because of an obituary written by Eliot in *The Criterion* upon the occasion of the *Egoist's* cessation. 'The *Egoist* has ceased to exist . . . It performed a function that is one of the private press. It made possible the publication of the works of authors then unknown which would never have been accepted by the larger presses.' T.S. Eliot, 'A Commentary', *The Criterion*, 2 (1924), pp. 371-75 (p. 373).
- ⁴⁵ F.R. Leavis, 'Scrutiny: A Manifesto', p. 2.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ Leavis to Parsons, 17 February 1932, URL.
- ⁴⁹ See David Holbrook, *English For Maturity* (Cambridge: CUP 1961)
- ⁵⁰ Leavis to Parsons, 23 January 1933, URL. Successful propaganda demanded a blanketing of educators, and Leavis sent many letters to Parsons similar to the following: 'will you send to me 100 copies of *Culture and Environment*? I hope to do some propaganda.' Leavis to Parsons, 1 February 1933, URL.
- ⁵¹ F.R. Leavis and Denys Thompson, *Culture and Environment* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1934), p. vii.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- ⁵⁴ Denys Thompson, *Reading and Discrimination* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1934), p. 3.
- ⁵⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 5 November 1932, URL.
- ⁵⁶ Quoted from *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 152.
- ⁵⁷ Raymond Williams, 'Stocktaking I: Books for Teaching "Culture and Environment"', *The Use of English*, 1 (1949), pp. 134-140.
- ⁵⁸ Figures taken from Stuart Liang, 'The Production of Literature', in *Society and Literature: 1945-1970*, ed. by Alan Sinfield (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 121-171 (p. 151).
- ⁵⁹ David Shayer, *The Teaching of English in Schools: 1900-1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 127.
- ⁶⁰ Mary Palmer, 'Children and Tradition', *English in Schools*, 1 (1940), pp. 38-39; continued p. 50 (p. 38).
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² Dorothy King, 'English and Leisure', *English in Schools*, 2 (1948), pp. 134-138 (p. 136).
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ F.C. Pritchard, 'An Experiment in Written English', *English in Schools* 2 (1949), pp. 164-167 (p. 167).
- ⁶⁵ S.J. Coulson, 'An English Syllabus for Difficult Adult Groups', *English in Schools* 2 (1945), pp. 42-43 (p. 42).
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
- ⁶⁸ F.S. Whitehead, 'An Experiment in Army Education', *English in Schools*, 2 (1945), pp. 39-41 (p. 40).
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ T.M. Beeston, review of *The Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius* by W.H.D. Rouse (London: Murray, 1940) in *English in Schools*, 1 (1940), p. 76; N.G. Loraine, review of *The Fighting Tramp* by A.D. Divine (London: Murray, 1940) in *English in Schools*, 1 (1940), p. 76.

- ⁷² Denys Thompson, 'The Use of English', *The Use of English*, 1 (1949), pp. 5-6 (p. 5).
- ⁷³ Quoted from Denys Thompson, 'Criticism in Practice II', *The Use of English*, 1 (1949), pp. 92-98 (p. 97).
- ⁷⁴ Quoted from Denys Thompson, 'Criticism in Practice III', *The Use of English*, 1 (1950), pp. 141-147 (p. 141).
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.
- ⁷⁶ Anonymous, 'Advertisements', *The Use of English*, 5 (1953), p. 11.
- ⁷⁷ Quoted from R.R. Pedley, 'Criticism in Practice: VIII', *The Use of English*, 2 (1951), pp. 207-217 (p. 207).
- ⁷⁸ Dorothy J. Cooper, 'Correspondence: Criticism in Practice,' *The Use of English*, 3 (1951), pp. 103-105, (p. 103).
- ⁷⁹ 'Criticism in Practice VIII', p. 208.
- ⁸⁰ Cooper, 'Correspondence: Criticism in Practice', p. 103
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- ⁸² J.H. Walsh, 'Correspondence: Criticism in Practice', p. 105.
- ⁸³ Herman Hesse, 'Recent German Poetry', *The Criterion*, 1 (1922), pp. 89-93; George Saintsbury, 'Dullness', *Ibid.*, pp. 1-15.; Fyodor Dostoevsky, 'The Plan of the Novel *The Life of a Great Sinner*', *Ibid.*, pp. 16-33.
- ⁸⁴ T.S. Eliot, 'Notes', *The Criterion*, 1 (1923), pp. 421-22 (p. 421).
- ⁸⁵ T.S. Eliot, 'A Commentary', *The New Criterion*, 5 (1927), pp. 1-6 (p. 2)
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ Arnold Bennett, 'Florentine Journal', *The New Criterion*, 7 (1928), pp. 16-30 (p. 16).
- ⁸⁸ 'A Commentary', 1927, p. 2.
- ⁸⁹ J.S. Barnes, 'Fascism', *The New Criterion*, 8 (1928), pp. 445-459. A.L. Rouse, 'The Literature of Communism: Its Origin and Theory', 8 (1928), pp. 422-36.
- ⁹⁰ 'Last Words', p. 272.
- ⁹¹ F.R. Leavis, 'Under which King Bezonian', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 205-14 (p. 214).
- ⁹² 'Fascism', p. 445.
- ⁹³ Leavis to Parsons, 17 February 1932, URL.
- ⁹⁴ 'Babbitt Buys the World', p. 80.
- ⁹⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 14 February 1932, URL.
- ⁹⁶ Quoted from *F.R. Leavis: A Literary Biography*, p. 43.
- ⁹⁷ Quoted from, *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 218.
- ⁹⁸ Geoffrey Walton, 'The Neutral Style', *Scrutiny*, 5 (1937), pp. 443-44 (p. 444).
- ⁹⁹ Quoted from *F.R. Leavis: A Literary Biography*, p. 43.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- ¹⁰¹ F. R. Leavis, 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect' in *Scrutiny*, 20 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1932-53; repr. 1963), 20, pp. 1-24 (pp. 21-22).
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ¹⁰³ Some of the most recognisable contributors from the core group include H. A. Mason (forty articles), L. C. Knights (forty articles), D. W. Harding (thirty-seven articles), R. G. Cox (thirty-four articles), and W. H. Mellers (sixty-seven articles).
- ¹⁰⁴ 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect', p. 5.

Chapter Four

¹ (*Oxford English Dictionary*), Anonymous, *Punch*, 23 December 1925, p. 673., quoted from Rosa Maria Bracco, *Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), p. 21.

² *Merchants of Hope*, pp. 12-13.

³ George Orwell, *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, vol 4, *In Front of Your Nose, 1945-1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970) pp. 37-41; Virginia Woolf, 'Middlebrow', *The Death*

of the *Moth* (London: Hogarth, 1942), p. 115. Both references are quoted from *Merchants of Hope*, p. 11.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ J.C. Squire, 'Editorial Notes', *The London Mercury*, 1 (1919), pp.1-6 (p. 2).

⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ J.C. Squire, 'Poetry' *The London Mercury*, 8 (1923), pp. 655-56 (p. 656).

⁹ 'Editorial Notes', p. 4.

¹⁰ Patrick Howarth, *Squire: Most Generous of Men* (London: Hutchison, 1963), p. 126.

¹¹ J.C. Squire, 'Editorial Notes' *The London Mercury*, 1 (1919), pp. 129-34 (p. 130).

¹² P.R. Stephensen, 'J.C. Squire (etc.): An Appreciation', *The London Aphrodite*, 1 (1928), pp. 86-92 (p. 87).

¹³ Figures taken from *Squire*, p. 225.

¹⁴ 'J.C. Squire (etc.): An Appreciation', p. 88.

¹⁵ D.W. Harding and L.C. Knights, 'Flank-Rubbing and Criticism', *Scrutiny*, 2 (1933), pp. 183-86 (pp. 183-184).

¹⁶ Geoffrey Grigson, 'Notes on Literature as a Career', review of J.C. Squire, *Face in the Candlelight* (London: William Heinemann, 1932), *Scrutiny*, 1 (1933), pp. 401-04 (p. 402).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 404.

¹⁹ *New Bearings*, p. 11.

²⁰ John Middleton Murry, 'The Cause of it All', *The Adelphi*, 1 (1923), pp. 1-11 (p. 5).

²¹ Ibid., p. 6.

²² John Middleton Murry, 'A Month After', *The Adelphi*, 1 (1923), pp. 89-99 (p. 99).

²³ John Middleton Murry signed 'The Journeyman', 'Novels and Thought Adventures', *The Adelphi*, 1 (1923), pp. 528-540 (p. 536). Though anonymous, being credited to 'The Journeyman', it is reasonable to assume that Murry is the author, given a very similar confessional style to known Murry pieces, its devotion to Lawrence (which Murry was famous for), and its promotion of 'life'.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 540.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 536.

²⁶ 'A Month After', p. 90.

²⁷ In its first year, over 100,000 copies were circulated though this number eventually decreased to around 5000 and 6000 copies per issue. *The Adelphi*, entry by Elgin Mellow, in *British Literary Magazines: The Modern Age, 1914-1984*, 4 vols, ed. by Alvin Sullivan (London: Greenwood Press, 1986), 4, pp. 8-18 (p. 17).

²⁸ 'A Month After', p. 91.

²⁹ The difference in tone signifies a difference in the guiding tendencies of the two journals, a debate over which was carried out in both journals. While Eliot focused on 'tradition' at the expense of personality, Murry passionately believed that it was the writer's personality ('soul' to be exact) that made his work great: 'We cannot apprehend a work of literature except as a manifestation of the rhythm of the soul of the man who created it. If we stop short of that, our understanding is incomplete . . . The great writer has two things. He has to be a 'writer' to have the gift of compulsive language, of words that live and impose thoughts and feelings upon those who read them. And he has to be great; he must have a quality of soul that is profound and, because it is profound, is universal. His soul plunges deeper and soars higher than the fashionable feelings of his day.' John Middleton Murry, 'Romanticism and Tradition', *The Criterion*, 2 (1924), pp. 272-95 (pp. 278-79).

³⁰ 'Scrutiny: A Manifesto', p. 3.

³¹ Ibid., p. 5.

³² F.R. Leavis, 'Reminiscences of D.H. Lawrence', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 189-91 189-90.

³³ John Middleton Murry, *Keats and Shakespeare* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1925), quoted from F.R. Leavis, 'Revaluations (IX): Keats', *Scrutiny*, 4 (1936), pp. 376-400 (p. 377).

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Anonymous, 'Comments and Reviews', *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, 1 (1925), 70-71 (p. 70.)

- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Figures taken from Malcolm Bradbury, 'A Review in Retrospect', in *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, 3 vols (1925-27; London: Frank Cass, 1966) 1, pp. vii-xix (p. x).
- ³⁹ Douglas Garman, 'Audience', *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, 2 (1925), pp. 44-49 (p. 47).
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 48.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Anonymous, 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, 4 (1927), pp. 175-76 (p. 176).
- ⁴³ Jack Lindsay, 'Editorial Manifestos', *The London Aphrodite*, 1 (1928), p. 2.
- ⁴⁴ Jack Lindsay, 'Ex Cathedra', *The London Aphrodite*, 1 (1928), p. 232.
- ⁴⁵ 'Editorial Manifestos', p. 2.
- ⁴⁶ Jack Lindsay, 'Joy's Confessional' *The London Aphrodite*, 1 (1928), pp. 66-77 (pp. 66-67).
- ⁴⁷ 'Scrutiny: A Manifesto', p. 2.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., p. 4.
- ⁵² Ibid., p. 5.

Chapter Five

- ¹ 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect', p. 4.
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Stephen Spender, 'Background to the Thirties' in *The Thirties and After* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1978), pp. 13-33 (p. 13).
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Quoted from Julian Symons, *The Thirties: a Dream Revolved* (London: Faber, 1975), pp. 37-38. Leavis, as well, recognises the relationship between the public schools and the left, speaking of 'Auden and that Public School Leftism.' F.R. Leavis, 'The Responsible Critic: or The Function of Criticism at Any Time', *Scrutiny*, 19 (1953), pp. 162-83 (p. 182).
- ⁷ Quoted from *The Thirties*, pp. 74-75.
- ⁸ Anonymous, 'Writers International', *Left Review*, 1 (1934), p. 38.
- ⁹ Eric Gill, 'Eric Gill on Art and Propaganda', *Left Review*, 1 (1935), pp. 341-42 (p. 341).
- ¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 341-42.
- ¹¹ Alec Brown, 'From Alec Brown', *Left Review*, 1 (1934), pp. 76-77 (p. 76).
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Ibid., p. 77.
- ¹⁴ Julius Lipton, 'By the Dancing Needles', *Left Review*, 1 (1935), pp. 214-15 (p. 214).
- ¹⁵ 'Not English? A Reminder for May Day', *Left Review*, 2 (1936), pp. 353-357 (p. 353).
- ¹⁶ F.D. Klingender, 'A Shelter Nightmare of 1871', *Our Time*, 1 (1941), pp. 8-12 (p. 9).
- ¹⁷ Peter Settle, 'Their Art Also is a Weapon', *Our Time*, 1 (1941), pp. 1-3 (p. 2).
- ¹⁸ David Holbrook, 'The Student of Literature', *Our Time*, 6 (1947), pp. 239-240.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 240.
- ²⁰ Edgell Rickword, 'William Hazlitt—An English Jacobin', *Our Time*, 3 (1944), pp. 10-11 (p. 11).
- ²¹ F.R. Leavis, 'Restatements for Critics', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1933), pp. 315-23 (p. 320).
- ²² 'Restatements for Critics', p. 321.
- ²³ G. Lowes Dickinson, 'The Political Background', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 40-46 (p. 46).
- ²⁴ F.R. Leavis, 'Editorial: Under which King, Bezonian?', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1932), pp. 205-14 (p. 205).
- ²⁵ L.C. Knights, 'Marxists and History', review of G.V. Plekhanov, *The Role of the Individual in History* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1940), *Scrutiny*, 9 (1940), pp. 166-70 (p. 170).

- ²⁶ F.R. Leavis, ed., *Towards Standards of Criticism: Selections from The Calendar of Modern Letters* (London: Wishart and Co., 1933), p. 11. Leavis also referred to Rickword in *Scrutiny*, noting his contribution to C. Day Lewis's *The Mind in Chains*: 'it's a mind we have regretfully to remark, hampered by its voluntary Marxism more apparently than by any other impediments.' F.R. Leavis, 'The Marxian Analysis', *Scrutiny*, 6 (1937), pp. 201-04 (p. 204).
- ²⁷ 1935-39 was the period when *Scrutiny* was the most prolific in its consideration of Marxism, though it does continue well beyond, up until 1949.
- ²⁸ H.A. Mason, 'Education by Book Club?' *Scrutiny*, 6 (1937), pp. 240-46 (p. 243).
- ²⁹ L.C. Knights, 'Shakespeare and Profit Inflation', *Scrutiny*, 5 (1936), pp. 48-60 (p. 52).
- ³⁰ 'Under which King, Bezonian?', p. 208.
- ³¹ William Empson, 'Proletarian Literature', *Scrutiny*, 3 (1935), pp. 332-38 (p. 332). For Empson, true proletarian literature was pastoral, and, though often 'laden with political ideas,' was not didactic.
- ³² Geoffrey Walton, 'The Arts in Totalitarian Russia', review of Kurt London, *Seven Soviet Arts* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), *Scrutiny*, 6 (1937), pp. 205-07 (p. 207).
- ³³ For example, 'F.R. Leavis, The *Scrutiny* Movement and the Crisis' by Iain Wright is a thorough Marxist rebuttal of *Scrutiny*'s developing case against Marxism.
- ³⁴ Wright himself admits this: '[Leavis] consistently chose as his targets the most naïve and reductive examples of Marxist cultural thought and literary criticism (there were many to hand).' 'F.R. Leavis, The *Scrutiny* Movement and the Crisis', *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- ³⁵ For example H.B. Parkes's *Marxism: a Post-mortem* was savagely reviewed by the Marxist Christopher Hill for scholarly ineptitude. Christopher Hill, 'Mr. Parkes on Marxism', review of H.B. Parkes, *Marxism: a Post-Mortem* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940), *Scrutiny*, 9 (1940), pp. 277-84.
- ³⁶ Figures taken from inside cover Adolf Hitler, *My Struggle*, trans. by Anon. (London: Paternoster, 1936).
- ³⁷ Quoted from 'Putting the Clock Back' by Count Potocki of Montalk, *The Right Review*, Number 4 (volume number uncertain) (1934?), pp. 1-4 (p. 3).
- ³⁸ It should be mentioned that Potocki was careful to note: 'our opinions are more often than not very nearly the exact opposite of Mr. Huxley's.' 'Notes', *The Right Review*, No. 5 (volume number uncertain) (1938?), pp. 5-6.
- ³⁹ 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect', p. 1.
- ⁴⁰ 'The Responsible Critic', p. 162.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- ⁴³ Lovat Dickson, *The House of Words* (London: Macmillan, 1963).
- ⁴⁴ Leavis to John Middleton-Murry, 7 October 1936, private collection (Elaine J. Zinkhan).
- ⁴⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 10 November 1973, URL.
- ⁴⁶ Deighton Bell Distribution Ledger for *Scrutiny*, 1945-49, UCL.
- ⁴⁷ Leavis to Parsons, 28 December 1933, URL.
- ⁴⁸ Of 155 book-selling address *Scrutiny* was shipped to from 1945-49, 61 (or 39%) were international. America was the largest consumer of *Scrutiny*, being sold at 31 addresses. Deighton Bell Distribution Ledger, 1945-49, UCL.
- ⁴⁹ Leavis to Parsons, 10 July 1936, URL.
- ⁵⁰ Maruzen Advertisement for *Scrutiny* reissue, 1962, Translated from the Japanese by Patrick Sturt, UCL.
- ⁵¹ For example, Editorial Address, *Scrutiny*, 3 (September 1934), front cover.
- ⁵² Editorial Address, *Scrutiny*, 18 (Autumn 1951), back cover.
- ⁵³ MacKillop notes that between January and December 1933, Leavis paid 'as much as £205.' *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 146.
- ⁵⁴ Leavis to Parsons, 16 November 1933, URL.
- ⁵⁵ F.R. Leavis, 'Appeal to Readers', *Scrutiny*, 1 (1933), p. 314
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ F.R. Leavis, 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect', p. 6.
- ⁵⁸ F.R. Leavis, 'Valedictory', *Scrutiny*, 19 (1953), pp. 254-57 (p. 257).
- ⁵⁹ Consider this advertisement for *The Criterion*, in which even the titles of the articles are removed: 'THE

CRITERION: A QUARTERLY REVIEW EDITED BY T.S. ELIOT---In the July 1934 Number: Contributions by William Butler Yeats, Marriane Moore, Hugh Sykes Davies, W.W. Winkworth, Charles Madge, Desmond Hawkins and others. Chronicles by Rodger Hinks, Phillip Radcliffe and Montgomery Belgion. Commentary by the Editor.' *Criterion* advertisement, *Scrutiny*, 3 (1934), inside cover.

⁶⁰ 'A Month After', pp. 98-99.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² *Criterion* advertisement, *The Adelphi*, 1 (1931), back cover.

⁶³ Advertisement for 'Luvisca', *The Adelphi*, 1 (1931), inside cover. Advertisement for Sane Sex Books, *The Adelphi*, 1 (1923), p. 173.

⁶⁴ Advertisement for Haig and Haig Five Stars Whisky, *The London Mercury*, 3 (1921), p. xx. An advertisement for Haig and Haig Whisky appeared in every issue of *The London Mercury* during Squire's editorship, often opposite 'Editorial Notes', a symptom, perhaps, of Squire's chronic alcoholism.

⁶⁵ Advertisement for James Surman, *Experiment*, 1 (1929), p. vii.

⁶⁶ Advertisements for Datura Tatula, *Edinburgh Review*, (1878), Number 301, inside cover.

⁶⁷ Advertisement 'Live Selling Lit', *Left Review*, 1 (1935).

⁶⁸ Lincoln Steffens, 'A Talk Across the Border', *The Masses*, July 1916, p. 14; Advertisement for Alexander Hamilton Institute, *The Masses*, November 1916, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Advertisement for Heffer's in *Scrutiny*, 2 (1933), inside cover.

⁷⁰ Deighton Bell Distribution Ledger for *Scrutiny*, 1945-49, UCL. Deighton Bell provided W.H. Smith with copies of *Scrutiny*.

Chapter Six

¹ Hugh Kenner, 'A Monument to a Great Critic', *Virginia Quarterly* 40 (1964), pp. 295-298.

² *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 75-76.

³ Quoted from *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 132.

⁴ The reason that *Scrutiny* itself was not picked up by Chatto during its run is likely tactical, as Leavis made much of the association with Cambridge and its distance from London's 'literary racket.' Indeed, had Leavis desired to do so, Chatto would certainly have been receptive. Publishing a literary review called *The World* in 1935, and later, in 1951, Thompson's *The Use of English*, Chatto was not unlike Faber, *The Criterion*'s regular publisher.

⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 2 July 1936, URL.

⁶ 37.1% relate to Leavis's criticism and positions without referring specifically to Leavis or *Scrutiny*, and 4.2% refer to his personality. Kinch's bibliography, *F.R. Leavis and Q.D. Leavis: an Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), is exhaustive, and it is worth pointing out that only on several occasions have I found a mention of Leavis not in Kinch's bibliography.

⁷ R.W. David to Michael Black, 24 September 1964, UCL. David was interested in doing a book by Q.D.L.'s collected essays on Jane Austen.

⁸ Quoted from Parsons to Blanche Knopf, 11 July 1955, URL.

⁹ 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect', p. 15.

¹⁰ Leavis to Parsons, 2 July 1936, URL.

¹¹ Leavis to Parsons, 3 December 1959, URL.

¹² Leavis to Parsons, 28 December 1933, URL.

¹³ Leavis to Parsons, 2 January 1934, URL.

¹⁴ Leavis to Parsons, 6 December 1933, URL.

¹⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 3 July 1936, URL.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Henry W. Wells, 'Down a Royal Literary Line', *Saturday Review of Literature*, 7 Feb 1948, p. 17.

²⁰ Parsons to Leavis, 9 July 1936, URL.

²¹ Leavis to Parsons, 10 July 1936, URL.

²² Ibid.

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- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 11 September 1946, URL.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Quoted from Parsons to Leavis, 16 September 1946, URL.
- ²⁹ Leavis to Parsons, 17 September 1946, URL.
- ³⁰ 'Robbins Report', Committee of Higher Education, *Higher Education: report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister Under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-63*, Cm 2154, (London: HMSO, 1963), p. 6.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² *Mass Civilisation*, p. 158.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ 'The Idea of a University' in *Education and the University*, pp. 15-32 (p. 16).
- ³⁵ Ibid., p. 30.
- ³⁶ Ibid., p. 24.
- ³⁷ Figures taken from the 'Robbins Report', p. 11.
- ³⁸ Cited from R.D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (London: MacMillan, 1992), p. 60; 63.
- ³⁹ 'Robbins Report', p. 30.
- ⁴⁰ Unfortunately, there are no figures which indicate the social composition of the students in each faculty, however, given the ubiquity of the middle classes within higher education, it is reasonable to assume that the Arts faculties were populated by a large number of middle-class students.
- ⁴¹ Robbins Report, 'Appendix', pp. 34-35.
- ⁴² 'A Sketch for an "English School"', in *Education and The University*, pp. 33-65 (p. 33).
- ⁴³ Leavis to Parsons, 15 July 1956, URL.
- ⁴⁴ Leavis to Parsons, 2 July 1936, URL.
- ⁴⁵ The Robbins Report provided numbers for total student intake for the years 1932-78 (after 1963, of course, these numbers were projections based on past growth); also provided was a percentage of students in English Studies in 1962 (four percent). In order to calculate a conservative approximation of student numbers in the years preceding 1962, three percent of students were estimated yearly to be enrolled in English Studies; in the years 1962 and onwards, four percent of students were estimated yearly to be enrolled in English Studies. These student numbers were then averaged over consecutive three-year periods (based on a three-year degree programme). As graduating English Studies students would have remained within the potential market, these averages were then summed from 1932 to 1978. Therefore the projected sum of the potential market within English Studies programmes between 1932 and 1978 at British universities is 82,000 students.
- ⁴⁶ Leavis to Smallwood, 17 March 1969, URL.
- ⁴⁷ Q.D. Leavis to Parsons, 28 October 1972, URL.
- ⁴⁸ Mansbridge to Black, 27 April 1965, UCL.
- ⁴⁹ Internal memorandum by R.W. David, 31 August 1966, UCL.
- ⁵⁰ Leavis to Parsons, 10 June 1972, URL.
- ⁵¹ Leavis to Enright, 23 March 1975, URL.; URL, Leavis to Parsons, 1 July 1975, URL.
- ⁵² Stephen J. Ball. 'English for the English since 1906' in *Social Histories of the Secondary Curriculum* (London: The Falmer Press, 1985), pp. 53-88 (p. 73).
- ⁵³ 'English for the English since 1906', p. 73.
- ⁵⁴ F.R. Leavis, 'Elites, Oligarchies, and an Educated Public', *Nor Shall My Sword* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), pp. 201-228, p. 208.
- ⁵⁵ *The Rise of Professional Society*, p. 395.
- ⁵⁶ 'A Sketch for an "English School"', pp. 42-43.
- ⁵⁷ David Daiches, 'The Place of English Studies in the Sussex Scheme', in *The Idea of New University: An Experiment in Sussex*, ed. by David Daiches (London: André Deutsch, 1964), pp. 81-99, p. 86; p. 88.

- ⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 89.
- ⁵⁹ 'A Sketch for an "English School"', p. 34.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 63.
- ⁶¹ Departments included Bristol, Durham, Hull, Sheffield, Sussex, East Anglia, Leicester, Liverpool, among others.
- ⁶² Eric Arnold, 'University of Lancaster', *A Guide to English Courses in the Universities* (London: John Murray, 1965), pp. 59-66 (p. 59).
- ⁶³ The colleges in New Zealand included Otago, 1869; Canterbury, 1873; Auckland, 1882; Wellington, 1897. Australian universities included Sydney, 1850; Melbourne, 1854.
- ⁶⁴ Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966), p. x.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 52.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ From *Universities: British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*, p. 206.
- ⁶⁸ Percival Gurrey, 'Literature at a Colonial University', *The Use of English* 3 (1951), pp. 7-11 (p. 7).
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 8.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 9.
- ⁷¹ D.J. Enright, 'University Examinations in Egypt', *The Use of English*, 2 (1950), p. 68.
- ⁷² Margaret Diggle 'General English in American Universities', *The Use of English*, 1 (1949), pp. 79-82 (pp. 79-80).
- ⁷³ Ibid., p. 82.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ A.H. White, 'Impressions of English Teaching in the U.S.A.', 5 (1953), pp. 117-118 (p. 118). For another view of U.S. English Studies, see M.J.S. Walker, 'English in the U.S.A.', *The Use of English*, 5(1953), pp. 10-11.
- ⁷⁶ Leavis to Parsons, 26 March 1974, URL.
- ⁷⁷ Eric McCormick, 'In the 1930s: Cambridge to New Zealand' in *F.R. Leavis: Essays and Documents*, ed. by Ian MacKillop and Richard Storer (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 227-237 (p. 233).
- ⁷⁸ For example, McLuhan sees the popularity of the comic book *Superman* as an 'unconscious' reaction to 'the anonymous oppression by our impersonal and mechanized ways,' which has 'piled up a bitterness that seeks fantasy outlets in the flood of fictional violence which is now being gulped in such a variety of forms.' Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951), p. 102.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p. v.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., p. vi. For example, beside an advertisement asserting 'let the Gladiron show you how to iron shirts without hating your husband,' McLuhan asked 'The lady in the ad has found a substitute for moral choice?' Ibid., p. 32.
- ⁸² See Terry Collits 'Sydney Revisited: Literary Struggles in Australia (circa 1965 and ongoing)' *Australian Book Review*, (May 1999), <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~abr/May99/col.html> (accessed 28/11/03); Jillian Dellit, 'Another Perspective on Andrew Riemer's *Sandstone Gothic*', *Australian Humanities Review* (September 1998), <http://www.lamp.ac.uk/ahr/emuse/riemer/dellit.html> (accessed 28/11/03); Stephen Knight, *Australian Humanities Review* (September 1998), <http://www.lamp.ac.uk/ahr/archive/Issue-Deptember-1998/knight2.html> (accessed 28/11/03); Douglas McQueen-Thompson, *Colloquy*, <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/others/colloquyarchives/Issu.../McQueen-Thompson.htm>, (accessed 28/11/03).
- ⁸³ 'Sydney Revisited', p. 5.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Quoted from Moira Lambert, excerpt from *The Lettered Country*, <http://www.autc.gov.au/pr/lettered-country/4.pdf>, (accessed 28/11/03), p. 56.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 2.
- ⁸⁷ John Docker, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 16.

⁸⁸ Anonymous, <http://www.angelfire.com/realm/ninglun/diary2001d.html>, (accessed 28/11/03).

⁸⁹ CUP has been continuously active since 1584, one year before Oxford University Press.

⁹⁰ See for example, Michael Black, *Cambridge University Press: 1584-1984* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984) Black makes much of the Press's age, devotion to scholarship, and its 'aims, which are by definition charitable.' p. 310.

⁹¹ As the CUP archive does not provide documents detailing who purchased the reprint, I have searched the online library catalogues of all British universities which were established by 1965; in all, twenty-nine universities purchased the reprint, including universities in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

⁹² 'Scrutiny: A Retrospect', p. 1.

⁹³ Quoted from Michael Black, 'The Long Pursuit', in *The Leavises: Recollections and Impressions*, pp. 86-102 (p. 88).

⁹⁴ In 'The Long Pursuit', Black recalls the number as 2500 sets being printed; however, 3200 is the number given in a CUP invoice dated 23 July 1970. There was only one printing.

⁹⁵ Ronald Mansbridge to R.W. David, 16 November 1962, UCL.

⁹⁶ Eccleshare wrote to George Porter, director of the University booksellers Galloway and Porter Ltd., when one of Porter's customers had mentioned the advertisement: What I think your customer has seen, and what is giving us and you a great deal of trouble is a notice put in the *American Publishers' Weekly* by our New York branch very much against our wishes. As I said the prices are not yet firm, and publication will not be before next Autumn and will probably be early 1964. We thought it best to wait until we had something firm before making an announcement to the trade, and I am sorry that you should be bothered by this information from the back-stairs. C.F. Eccleshare to George Porter, 10 December 1962, UCL.

⁹⁷ Mansbridge to Michael Black, 30 November 1962, UCL. Certainly, as Black remarked some years later, during 1962, 'the largest and by far most prosperous and fastest-moving market was the USA,' perhaps making Mansbridge's tactic at least understandable. Michael Black, *A Short History of Cambridge University Press* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 44.

⁹⁸ Internal memorandum, undated.

⁹⁹ Internal memorandum, undated.

¹⁰⁰ Advertisement circa 1967, Leavis Papers, UCL.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Advertisement circa 1963, UCL.

¹⁰³ Advertisement, *Scrutiny*, 1 (March 1933), inside cover. *Culture and Environment*, for example, criticises 'snob appeal': 'the direct appeal, of the weakness for being seen with the Right Cigarette as smoked by the right people,' a similar tactic, no doubt to proclaiming that one concerned with standards should buy the reissue.

¹⁰⁴ Miriam Firestone to The Travellers, 19 August 1963, UCL. It has not been possible to ascertain Firestone's exact position at the time of the memo, but she was obviously on the sales staff.

¹⁰⁵ William Adams to John Jones, 25 January 1963, UCL.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. In reality, *Scrutiny* and the quarterlies were quite different. Though all the reviews might be said to be concerned with literature, the size of their readerships and their print runs were very different. The *Edinburgh Review*, which reviewed books from biography to mathematical theory, was so popular that a print run of 14,000 was insufficient: when bound into volumes, some went through ten editions. *Scrutiny*, which never experienced such popularity during its life, focused on a comparatively smaller set of themes, and its readership was much more exclusive.

¹⁰⁸ Advertisement for *Towards Standards of Criticism*, *Scrutiny*, 1 (1933), inside cover.

¹⁰⁹ From 1932-53, thirty-eight references to *Scrutiny*; from 1963-64, forty-four references to *Scrutiny* in the press.

¹¹⁰ Firestone to The Travellers, 19 August 1963, UCL. There is, unfortunately, no surviving information in the CUP archive relating to where books were sent to for review in Britain.

¹¹¹ One reviewer, Philip Hobsbaum of Queen's University in Belfast, wrote to CUP, adroitly, but unsuccessfully, contriving to acquire a complete set for free. There were no other requests for a complete set, even from more notable reviewers like Raymond Williams, Malcolm Bradbury, and David Daiches,

among others. Philip Hobsbaum to CUP, 14 August 1963, UCL.

¹¹² Eliot explained: 'I should . . . feel rather embarrassed to state my opinions frankly and I should not wish on the other hand to dissimulate them; so I would, with regret, prefer to keep silence as I so strongly disagreed with Dr. Leavis during the last stages of the magazine and objected to his attacks or innuendoes about people whom I knew and respected. I think it a pity that he became so intemperate in his views and was extravagant in his admirations, as I had, in the early stages of the magazine, felt a great sympathy for its editor.' Eliot to Eccleshare, 25 July 1963, UCL.

¹¹³ Mansbridge to Eccleshare, 28 July 1967, UCL.

¹¹⁴ David to Mansbridge, 1 August 1967, UCL; Eccleshare to David, 4 August 1967, UCL; Mansbridge to Bentley House, 14 August 1967, UCL.

¹¹⁵ 'The Long Pursuit', p. 90.

¹¹⁶ Leavis to Oakeshott, 26 March 1968, UCL.

¹¹⁷ Oakeshott to Leavis, 27 March 1968, UCL.

¹¹⁸ Leavis to Oakeshott, 8 March 1968, UCL.

¹¹⁹ The *Scrutiny* reissue was sent to the same number of addresses. Tickell to Leavis, 25 April 1967, UCL. Other groups included British Council offices (60), training colleges (184), foreign publishers (500), and London clubs (63). Cambridge University Library, Leavis Papers, Internal memorandum. Undated.

¹²⁰ Other countries that were sent review copies include Canada, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia, Trinidad, Ghana, Lebanon, Zambia, Kenya, among many others. 'Distribution List', 22 November, 1967, UCL.

¹²¹ Eccleshare to Mansbridge, 28 August 1963, UCL.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Black to Mansbridge, 7 April 1965, UCL.

¹²⁴ Robert Gorham Davis to CUP, 25 October 1967, UCL.

¹²⁵ Black to Mansbridge, 7 April 1965, UCL.

¹²⁶ David to Black, 31 August 1966, UCL.

¹²⁷ Internal memorandum, 'Forthcoming Cambridge Book', 10 March 1967, UCL; Internal Memorandum, 'Year After Publication Information', 21 April 1969, UCL. A cloth volume of *Selections* nearly cost the price of a single volume of the reissue, priced at 50 shillings. Advertisement, undated, UCL.

¹²⁸ James Cochrane to Nora Smallwood, 15 March 1971, Penguin Papers, University of Bristol Library (hereafter UBL); F.R. Leavis, *D.H. Lawrence: Novelist* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), back cover. The cover lists the price at 60 pence; with conversion at 12 pence per shilling (personal communication Bank of England Museum), the price is 5 shillings.

¹²⁹ Leavis to Parsons, 15 July 1956, URL.

¹³⁰ Contract for *Culture and Environment*, 1932 (exact date uncertain), URL.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² *Culture and Environment* stayed in print for forty years, and was even reprinted in America. There is no evidence, however, that terms were ever renegotiated.

¹³³ Parsons to Leavis, 18 April 1947, URL.

¹³⁴ Parsons to Leavis, 16 September 1966, URL.

¹³⁵ Parsons to Leavis, 2 April 1969, URL.

¹³⁶ MacKillop, *F.R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism*, p. 300.

¹³⁷ In fact, the total income that Leavis was to receive in the years after 1976 was £1000, or, on average, £200 a year for five years. J.G. Goode to Messrs. Barr-Ellison, 24 May 1978, UCL.

¹³⁸ 'The Long Pursuit', p. 90.

¹³⁹ Leavis to Parsons, 7 December 1966, URL.

¹⁴⁰ Leavis to Parsons, 7 December 1966, URL.

¹⁴¹ Leavis's loyalty was open to change, however, when the Richmond lectures, with its famous attack on C.P. Snow's 'Two Cultures', were collected into a book. Leavis first approached CUP and was subsequently sent a letter of rejection, as the syndics were concerned the press might be sued for libel. Leavis next approached Parsons, who decided to publish the lectures after a libel report was taken out. Parsons to Snow, 14 August 1962, URL.

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- ¹⁴² David to Black, 29 September 1974, UCL.
- ¹⁴³ Invoice titled *Revaluation*, undated, circa 1965, URL.
- ¹⁴⁴ Inflation figures from Michael Black, *A Short History of Cambridge University Press*, p. 47.
- ¹⁴⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 29 October 1973, URL.
- ¹⁴⁶ Parsons wrote: 'That you should feel necessary to write to me in that tone, after more than forty years of the closest and most amicable association, often most complete mutual trust and understanding, is a blow more bitter than perhaps you can understand . . . But in any case, dear Frank, there is surely something more between us than a mere business relationship? Surely this 40 odd years in which we have been loyal friends means something? Please tell me that I am not mistaken.' Parsons to Leavis, 6 November 1973, URL.
- ¹⁴⁷ Leavis to Parsons, 10 November 1973, URL. Certainly Q.D.L. was concerned with inflation as well, on one occasion convincing Black to write to Chatto director D.J. Enright: '[Q.D.L.] pointed out that she is now pretty dependent on royalties, and fears they will dry up. She also felt that Chatto's quixotic refusal to raise the price of published books simply eroded her income as inflation went on. I see her point here; whenever we take over a book from you we start off charging more in paperback than you do in hardback. I presume it is this pricing policy which makes you want to lease the books anyway, when a simple price-rise would make them viable. Is there any chance of a second thought on that matter?' Black to Enright, 6 December 1978, URL.
- ¹⁴⁸ Leavis also received many requests at his home. As he lamented to CUP, 'The requests come in every week.' Leavis to CUP, 22 April 1969, UCL.
- ¹⁴⁹ Q.D. Leavis to Margaret Leibbrandt, 25 June 1968, UCL. Leavis shared much the same view, though perhaps he did not express it with such venom, writing on one occasion, 'I detest this book making industry.' Leavis to Glynnis Banyard, 16 January 1970, UCL.
- ¹⁵⁰ Q.D. Leavis to Leibbrandt, 25 June 1968, UCL.
- ¹⁵¹ Leavis refused one request on the grounds that the 'essay of mine on E.M. Forster was reprinted a good many years ago in *The Common Pursuit*, a book which is still in demand and available.' Leavis to CUP, 22 April 1969, UCL.
- ¹⁵² Internal memorandum, 20 August 1968, UCL.
- ¹⁵³ Research based on CUP archive. *Scrutiny* contributors themselves were no less accommodating, and out of fifty-one requests for permission to reprint, only eight were refused.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 25 December 1954, URL.
- ¹⁵⁶ Leavis to Parsons, undated, circa 1960, URL; Leavis to Parsons, 27 November 1974, URL.
- ¹⁵⁷ J.E. Morpurgo, *Allen Lane: King Penguin* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), p. 266-67.
- ¹⁵⁸ Cochrane to Smallwood, 25 November 1970, UBL.
- ¹⁵⁹ Cochrane to Smallwood, 15 March 1971, UBL.
- ¹⁶⁰ Anonymous, *Penguin's Progress* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), p. 36.
- ¹⁶¹ *Culture and Environment*, p. 30.
- ¹⁶² *Allen Lane*, p. 323.
- ¹⁶³ *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 1 (Winter, 1965-66), subscription page.
- ¹⁶⁴ Leavis to Parsons, 27 November 1969, URL.
- ¹⁶⁵ Leavis to Parsons, 21 February 1972, URL.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁷ Leavis to Parsons, 6 August 1966, URL.
- ¹⁶⁸ Parsons to C.P. Snow, 14 August 1962, URL.
- ¹⁶⁹ Leavis to Parsons, 10 November 1973, URL.
- ¹⁷⁰ Parsons to Leavis, 3 July 1973, URL.
- ¹⁷¹ Leavis spoke of Gross for example: 'Tasker wrote to me at the time that he had surrendered very unwillingly to the pressure brought on him to allow the change to 'Gross by Name'. The new editorial Crook deserved that formulation—as all the world knows. And we ourselves have ample reason for knowing that he'll balk at nothing he can get away with, and that the TLS has the faith that it can get away with anything, such is the strength of the coagulation.' Leavis to Enright, 23 March 1975, URL.

'Coagulation' is a term that occurs regularly in Leavis's letters to Parsons after the sixties, and it is worth exploring. Synonymous, in Leavis's mind, with the 'centres and milieu [sic] of . . . power,' coagulation was not so much a conspiracy but a praxis of fixed attitudes that he frequently opposed; 'conspiracy,' when it occurred, was an acting out of the malaise. Leavis to Parsons, 19 April 1975, URL

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Black to Enright, 19 January 1976, UCL.

¹⁷⁵ Ian Robinson, 'Publisher's Forward' in Gary Watson, *The Leavises, the Social, and the Left* (Swansea: Brynmill, 1977), pp. vii-viii (p. vii)

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. p. viii.

¹⁷⁷ The graph is based on Kinch's bibliography. In his annotations, Kinch, as a Leavisite, was careful to note any disagreement, promotion, or ambivalence towards Leavis. I noted the opinion of each article, chapter, and essay in the bibliography. With Leavis, one generally had to take sides: while 24.5 % of textual occurrences were indifferent to, or descriptive of, Leavis's positions, the vast majority, 75.5%, agreed or disagreed with him in some way or another. Of the different responses Leavis provoked, the majority, 33.9%, were favourable, ranging from rapture—'It is a rare and awesome thing to have had one's life touched by a genius. The chances against it are astronomical. Yet this luck, or grace, has been mine.'—to commendation. Sebastian Moore, 'F.R. Leavis: a Memoir', in *The Leavises: Recollections and Impressions*, pp. 60-69 (p. 60). Yet Leavis had many detractors and 25.6% of the references ranged from simple disagreement to denunciation as in the case of Aldous Huxley's attack on Leavis's 'violent and ill-mannered, the one track, moralistic literarism.' *Literature and Society* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. 1. Occasionally, these could be quite humorous: when asked which writers' appendages that he would put into a cauldron if he were a witch, Dylan Thomas responded 'Leavis's tail. Yes, he does have a tail. I have it on the best of authority. He's a devil in disguise. Very tasty it should be, the tail of F.R. Leavis, nicely stewed with a dash of vinegar!' 'The Cauldron' in Frederic Prokosch, *Voices: A Memoir* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), pp. 191-198 (p. 196). Although far from indifferent, 16% of the textual occurrences were unable to completely agree or disagree with Leavis, and would do both in the space they were given. As F.W. Bateson maintained, during his disputes with Leavis in *Scrutiny*, Leavis was mistaken and Bateson was only wrong in only the first debate. However, Bateson was persuaded by Leavis to abandon bibliography for criticism. 'F.R.L. and E. and C.: a Retrospect', *Essays in Criticism*, 28 (1978), pp. 353-361.

¹⁷⁸ Q.D. Leavis to Parsons, 28 October 1972, URL.

¹⁷⁹ Q.D. Leavis to Parsons, 4 July 1973, URL.

¹⁸⁰ Leavis to Margaret Leibbrandt, 5 April 1968, UCL. Leavis had, much earlier, accepted an offer, via Chatto, from the Seven Arts Book Club: 'Many thanks for your letter about the book club. This is something new in my career.' Leavis to Parsons, 18 June 1957, URL.

Chapter Seven

¹ Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', p. 235.

² George Steiner, Geoffrey Grigson, Kingsley Amis, David Lodge, D.J. Enright, Ian Hamilton, John Bayley, Clive James, and Malcolm Bradbury, 'Symposium: F.R. Leavis, 1895-1978', *The New Statesman*, 21 April 1978, pp. 536-37 (p. 536).

³ Ibid.

⁴ John Wain, Simon Gray, Angus Wilson, Anthony Burgess, Pat Rogers and Peter Conrad, 'Revaluations', *The Observer*, 23 April 1978, p. 30.

⁵ For example, Peter Ackroyd, 'F.R. Leavis', *Spectator*, 22 April 1978, p. 24.; and Russell Davies, 'The Battles of Dr. Leavis', *The Sunday Times*, 23 April 1978, pp. 33-34.

⁶ Michael Black, 'F.R. Leavis: 1895-1978', *New Universities Quarterly*, 32 (1978), pp. 293-304.

⁷ Kingsley Amis, 'Symposium'; John Wain, 'Revaluations', p. 30.; David Lodge, 'Symposium'.

⁸ Ronald Hayman, 'Leavis at Eighty: A Biography', *New Review*, 2 (1975), pp. 3-24.

⁹ Leavis, F.R., 'F.R. Leavis', *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 December 1975, p. 1462.

¹⁰ Guido Almansi, 'On Patrol', *London Magazine*, (June/July 1977), p. 99; Edward Neill, 'Tea in

- Cambridge', *Times Educational Supplement*, 25 February 1977, p. 24.; Bernard Bergonzi, 'Criticism and Charisma', *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 November 1976, p. 1476. Of ten reviews, seven were negative.
- ¹¹ William Walsh, *F.R. Leavis* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1980), p. 1.
- ¹² Robin Robbins, 'Matters of Seriousness', *Times Literary Supplement*, 21 November 1980, p. 139.; Christopher Ricks, 'Yes, but...' *Sunday Times*, 21 September 1980, p. 139.
- ¹³ As I provide in Figure 6.11, a statistical analysis of books, chapters of books, articles, reviews and mentions of Leavis in the academic and large-scale press can also trace the growth of Leavis's reputation.
- ¹⁴ D.F. McKenzie and M.P. Allum, *F.R. Leavis: A Check-List (1924-1964)* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966), Preface.
- ¹⁵ RUL, Leavis Papers, Leavis to Parsons, 29 October 1973. Leavis went so far as to dissociate himself from the compilation in the *TLS*. F.R. Leavis, 'Dr. Leavis in the Lists', *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 August 1966, p. 763.
- ¹⁶ Willison, I.R., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 5 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), 4 (1900-1950), pp. 1070-73.
- ¹⁷ William Baker, 'F.R. Leavis, 1965-1979, and Q.D. Leavis, 1922-1979: A Bibliography of Writings By and About them.' *Bulletin of Bibliography*, 37 (1980), pp. 185-208.
- ¹⁸ Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 31.
- ¹⁹ *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 111.
- ²⁰ Frank Kermode, 'Interesting but Tough', review of *The School of Donne* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), *The Spectator*, 3 March 1961, pp. 298-99 (p. 298).
- ²¹ F.R. Leavis, 'Milton', *The Spectator*, 10 March 1961, p. 298.
- ²² Frank Kermode, 'Milton', *The Spectator*, 10 March 1961, p. 298.
- ²³ Boris Ford, 'Milton', *The Spectator*, 17 March, 1961, p. 361.
- ²⁴ Frank Kermode, 'Milton', *The Spectator*, 24 March, 1961, p. 399.
- ²⁵ A.E. Dyson, *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ F.R. Leavis, 'Milton', *The Spectator*, 31 March, 1961, p. 442.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice* (London: Methuen, 1980), p. 7.
- ²⁹ F.R. Leavis, 'Tragedy and Medium', in *The Common Pursuit* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1952), pp. 121-35 (p. 130).
- ³⁰ F.R. Leavis, 'Valuation and Criticism', *Valuation in Criticism*, ed. by G. Singh (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), p. 278. Quoted from Gary Day, 'Leavis and Post-Structuralism', *F.R. Leavis Essays and Documents*, pp. 174-89 (p. 175).
- ³¹ *Critical Practice*, p. 130.
- ³² 'Re-reading the Great Tradition', *Re-Reading English*, ed. by Peter Widdowson (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 122-35 (p. 128).
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 129.
- ³⁵ Peter Widdowson, 'The Crisis in English Studies', *Re-Reading English*, pp. 1-14 (p. 4).
- ³⁶ Terry Eagleton, 'Mutations of Critical Ideology' in *Criticism and Ideology: A Study of Marxist Literary Theory* (London: New Left Books, 1976), pp. 1-43 (p. 22).
- ³⁷ John Higgins, *Raymond Williams: Literature, Marxism, and Cultural Materialism* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 4.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 5. Though obliquely, Eagleton did later withdraw his 'dismissal' of Williams's complex circumstances, apologising for 'the brisk impatience of relative youth in *Criticism and Ideology*.' Terry Eagleton, 'Introduction', *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, ed. by Terry Eagleton (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 1-11 (p. 4).
- ⁴⁰ Raymond Williams, *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review* (London: New Left Books, 1979), p. 66.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² Raymond Williams, Wolf Mankowitz, and Henry Collins, 'The Reading Public and the Critical Reader',

The Critic, 1 (1947), pp. 5-6 (p. 5). The difference in design of the two journals was manifest in the articles. Titles from the first number of *The Critic* included 'The Significance of London Poetry', 'The Path of T.F. Powys', and 'A Dialogue on Actors'. Titles from the first number of *Politics and Letters* included 'Soviet Literary Controversy', 'The Politics of W.B. Yeats', 'Open Society', and 'Politics, The Group, and Social Function', *Politics and Letters* No. 2/3, (1947), Inside cover.

⁴³ Williams wanted to maintain his independence both from Leavisism and institutional Socialism and it is significant that in 1941 he let his membership to the Communist Party lapse, never to be renewed.

⁴⁴ *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*, p. 66

⁴⁵ F.R. Leavis, 'Literary Criticism and Politics', *Politics and Letters* 1 (1947), pp. 59-60.

⁴⁶ Raymond Williams, *Reading and Criticism* (London: Frederick Muller, 1950), p. ix.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁵⁰ *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*, p. 97.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵² Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958), p. 253.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵⁴ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), pp. 61-62.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

⁵⁶ *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*, p. 245.

⁵⁷ *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, p. 234.

⁵⁸ 'Leavis and the Post-Saussureans', p. 250.

⁵⁹ Quoted from Norma Schulman, in 'Conditions of Their Own Making: An Intellectual History of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham', www.wlu.ca/~wwwpress/jrls/cjcBackissues/18.1/shulman.html. (accessed 17 December 2003), p. 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁶² Quoted from John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 1.

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-----‘Cambridge Poetry’, review of *Cambridge Poetry* (London: Hogarth, 1930), *The Cambridge Review*, 16 May 1930, 414-15

-----‘Death of a Hero’, review of Richard Aldington, *Death of a Hero* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1929), *The Cambridge Review*, 25 October 1929, 61

-----*D.H. Lawrence: Novelist* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1955)

-----‘Dr. Leavis in the Lists’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 August 1966, 763

-----‘Essays’, review of Augustus Ralli, *Critiques* (London: Longmans, 1928), *The Cambridge Review*, 24 February 1928, 285

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